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MOTYA : 1955

REPORT OF THE 1955 TRIAL EXCAVATIONS AT MOTYA NEAR MARSALA (SICILY) UNDERTAKEN BY THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO MOTYA

(Plates I–IV)

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I. INTRODUCTION AND STRATIGRAPHIC FINDINGS

The ruins of the ancient Phoenician colony of Motya, well known to history as one of the three main Phoenician settlements in Sicily (Thucydides vi.2,6), are situated on the small island of Mozia (S. Pantaleo) within the shallow lagoon which stretches from Marsala towards Trapani. The city had an eventful history as one of the mainstays of Punic power in Sicily; but it was destroyed by Dionysius of Syracuse after an epic siege in 397 B.C., and thereafter, ceding place to Lilybaeum on the mainland nearby, its ruins remained virtually deserted. The object of some scientific curiosity during the late seventeenth and eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the site had to wait for systematic exploration until the beginning of the twentieth. It was then that the little island passed into the hands of Mr. Joseph Whitaker, and was partly excavated by him: he revealed large stretches of the circuit walls, two monumental gateways, ruins of a big public building or temple, and several cemeteries. He collected his finds in a little museum on the island itself, and published his discoveries in a book which is still the standard source of information on the subject (J. I. S. Whitaker, *Motya, a Phoenician Colony in Sicily*, London, 1921). Our present knowledge of ancient Motya is thus essentially due to his clearsightedness and enterprise, aided by the advice of his Italian archaeologist friends (cf. B. Pace, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1915, pp. 431–446).

The years since Whitaker ceased operations have brought both a greater interest in, and general knowledge about, Phoenician culture as a whole, and also an advance in archaeological technique. It also seems clear that not only is our knowledge about Motya and its history as yet incomplete, but that further investigations here might produce results of more than local interest. The special conditions resulting from the island's history—its desertion after the final destruction of 397 B.C.—make it likely that at a comparatively insignificant depth the foundations of the last Phoenician town can be encountered in many places : large-scale clearing might thus provide information about the planning of the final city and its various kinds of buildings—public edifices, temples, port installations, commercial and industrial quarters, etc. Moreover, in spite of the plundering for stone which continued for generations, Whitaker's excavations have produced architectural and artistic remains showing the presence of a variety of strains—Egyptian-derived as well as local Greek—which hint at the more complete picture of the town and its mixed civilisation to be obtained by further work. If excavation on a sufficient scale were applied to the earlier levels, details of the architectural make-up of this important trading station at the time of its greatest importance might be hoped for. The potential interest of Motya as a possible source of important architectural as well as other information is thus clear.

With a view to testing these possibilities, a small Oxford University expedition was sent out to Motya in the summer of 1955, and it worked there from 16 July to 21 August*. Six trenches were dug to test stratification in selected parts of the island (cf. fig. 1), viz. : (1) near the centre of the island; (2) near the 'cothon'; (3) near the South Gate; (4) across the town wall east of the South Gate; (5*a* and *b*) inside and outside the 'Cappiddazzu' ruins; (6) across the stump of the town wall near the centre of the northern shore of the island. Trenches 4 and 5*a* were filled in again, the others were left open, and the finds went into the small museum on the island.

The trenches revealed a varying depth of archaeological deposits over the island : shallow near the centre of the island (only about 3 ft. in trench 1), they tended to be much more substantial in the outer areas near the town wall which had helped to retain the archaeological remains. In these outer regions, closer to the sea and the sea breeze, there were indications both of more prolonged and more substantial settlement than were found inland; walling was however universally poor rubble masonry, except for the ashlar in the big 'Cappiddazzu' building.

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* The work could never have been undertaken without the active interest and help of the late Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, and of Mr. D. B. Harden, then Keeper of the Dept. of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Financial grants were made by the Ashmolean Museum (£100), the Oxford Craven Committee (£250), the Cambridge Craven Fund (£25) and the Dept. of Semitic Languages, Leeds University (£25). Our sincerest thanks are due to Miss D. Whitaker, the present owner of Motya, who not only allowed us to work there freely but also most generously put a fully furnished farm house and part of a villa at our disposition. The local administrator of the island, Col. G. Lipari, was ever ready to act on our behalf, and to advise us; the representative of the Sicilian Antiquities Service, Dr. V. Tusa and Mr. Meli gave us never-ending help and courtesy, while we have to thank the Service and its director in Western Sicily, Mrs. Marconi, for the understanding and assistance always extended to us. Lastly we must mention that we learnt much from our visitors, who included Prof. Pace and Prof. Ruggieri.

The excavating team consisted of Dr. B. S. J. Isserlin (field director); Mr. P. Parr (assistant director); Mr. W. Culican (pottery); Miss G. Talbot, Miss J. Grad, Miss B. Fielding and Mr. P. Atherton. The maximum number of workmen employed was 25. Some of our equipment was lent by the Dept. of Civil Engineering, Leeds University; Mr. Knighton of the Fabric office there helped to prepare some of the plans, and Miss C. H. Parkinson (Mrs. Isserlin) helped in the preparation of the Report.

Stucco or wall plaster may have helped these structures towards the more impressive appearance attested in the pages of Diodorus Siculus (xiv.48) but there is nothing to show that any of the walls found by us belonged to many-storied houses as described by him. Nor did we come across any architectural mouldings, sculpture, or the like, although it should be remarked that what appear to be pieces of Egyptianising cavetto, or cavetto and torus roll-mouldings may be observed lying about near the 'Cappiddazzu," which would repay further study. On the whole, Motya must have presented a utilitarian rather than an artistic or monumental impression.

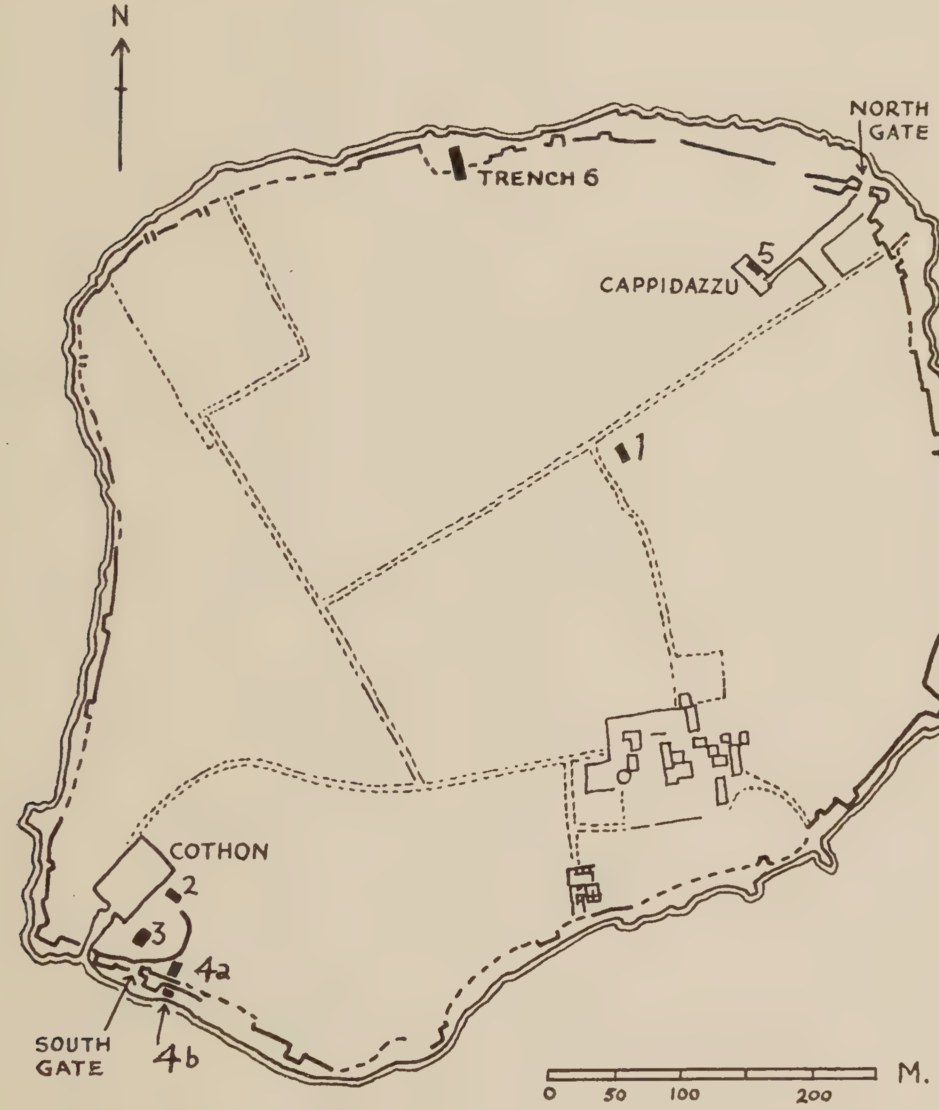


Fig. 1. Plan of Motya, Showing Sites Excavated

The chronological outline of development agrees with what had been worked out earlier by Whitaker, Pace and Dunbabin, though there are now perhaps hints of phases in the city's life which might become clearer with additional information. When the earliest Phoenician settlers arrived (early in the seventh century, or perhaps at the end of the eighth, according to present data) they found the place widely occupied by a native Sicilian 'prehistoric' population, whose flints and potsherds tend to turn up everywhere in the transformed humus above bedrock. These people appear to have continued in the island together with the Phoenicians, perhaps blending with them by degrees. To judge from certain analogies with pottery from al-Mina in Syria discussed below (p. 21), the Phoenician colonists may have originated from a northern Phoenician territory; there are indeed analogies also as far south as ez-Zib and beyond, but generally speaking the Palestinian pottery tradition is different. According to the pottery, there was no close original kinship with Carthage, though Carthaginian influence became noticeable in the sixth century, and dominant during the fifth (p. 25).

The sixth century seems to have been an important and crowded time in the history of the city. According to the evidence now to hand, it looks as if the city wall had been erected then, as Dunbabin (*The Western Greeks*, p. 332) had assumed; it crossed the cemetery region in the north of the island, where our trench 6 shows the existence of sixth- and fifth-century burials in the region between Whitaker's 'old' and 'new' necropolis. Within the city walls, our test excavations have revealed the existence of several building phases in a number of places: some of the rebuildings may have followed violent events, as near the South Gate (trenches 3, 4) and in the 'Cappiddazzu' (trench 5*a*), but further information is needed before any attempt can be made to link these facts with historial happenings. The fifth century was likewise not free from trouble: there is a hint that the city wall had to be reconstructed then in the north (trench 6), perhaps in connection with Greek pressure such as was exerted in 480 B.C. However, there was enough prosperity for the final, ashlar version of the 'Cappiddazzu' building to be put up during the later part of the century.

Our small test trenches were unable to reveal plans of buildings of any type (which would be very desirable); however, they hinted that such evidence might be had, with further excavation, and for early periods, near the South Gate and in the rich 'Cappiddazzu' region. They also underlined what was known before about the important foreign trade of Motya: besides the Corinthian connection there was a strong link with the region producing East Greek pottery; Attica entered the picture much less. Contacts with the Greek world in Italy, and occasionally with the Etruscans, were to be expected, and do occur.

The destruction of Motya in 397 B.C. was evident in the stratification of most trenches. No significant remains of any later period were encountered by us.

It remains to mention the fact that in a number of trenches (2, 4, 6) the present level of ground water was clearly higher than in antiquity (the swamped sarcophagus in trench 6 provided the most impressive case). Whether this may have anything to do with a possible rise in the level of the *stagnone* (denied by Whitaker, pp. 51–52) remains to be investigated further.

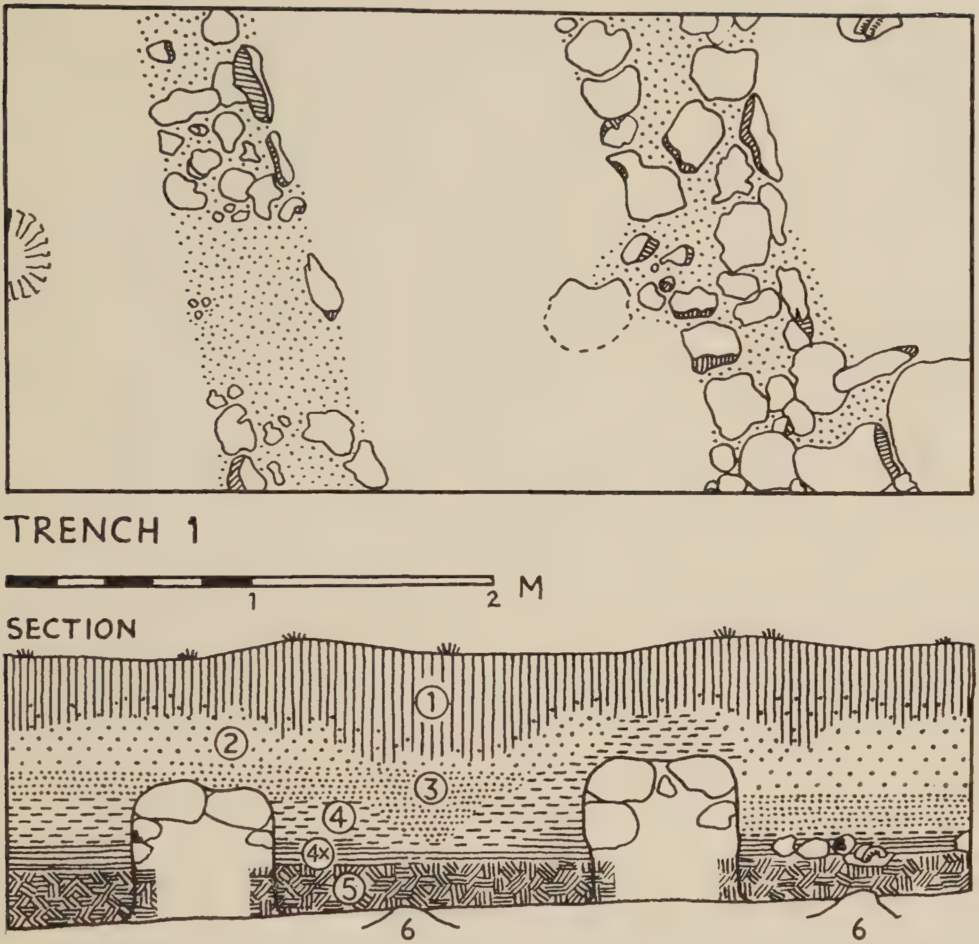


Fig. 2. Trench 1, Plan and Section

Detailed Description of Trenches and Stratification

Trench 1

(For position, see fig. 1; plan, fig. 2*a*; section, fig. 2*b*). Dimensions, 4 × 2 m.

Stratification

(1)	Ploughed soil	
(2)	Brown and white speckled	
(3)	Dark earth	burnt matter in north and south end; many sherds (amphora) in south; arrowhead. East Greek sherd late C6, and sherds of C5/4

(4)	White plaster, gravelly in centre of trench	
(4x)	White plaster (below 4 in north end)	
(5)	Fine dark powdery earth	prehistoric sherds and microliths. Some Greek and Phoenician sherds (C6 ?)
(6)	Natural rock	

Suggested Interpretation

Detritus layer (layer 2)

—————— Destruction of Motya 397 B.C. ——————

IV.	Last occupation level (layer 3)	C5/4
III.	Flooring renewed, walls laid down (layer 4)	C5 ?
II.	First Phoenician structures: flooring 4x	
I.	Prehistoric layer (5) with some Phoenician contacts, mixed up with natural humus	C6 and earlier

The evidence from this small test trench suggests that prehistoric occupation was followed in this part of the island, at a comparatively late date, by rather unimpressive domestic structures. The unpleasant sweltering heat prevailing in this part of the island, removed from the sea breezes, may to some extent explain this neglect, which was overcome when the increased need for building plots led to the employment of less attractive sites during the last phase of the town's history.

Trench 2

This trench, 4 × 2 m., was laid out at a distance of 6 m. from the eastern (long) side of the 'Cothon.' Cf. the plan, fig. 1. Stratification, indicated in fig. 3, was as follows:—

(1)	Ploughed soil (incl. streak of black pond mud in west)	arrowhead
(2)	Earth and stones	pieces of china
(3)	Dark earth	arrowhead
(4)	Grey mud with stones (east part of trench; foundations of very poor building ?)	black-glaze sherds
(4a)	Grey mud (in west part)	black-glaze; modern china
(5)	Grey mud	black-glaze; modern china
(6)	Grey-brown mud	coin; black-glaze; some prehistoric sherds

— — — — — — — water level — — — — — — —

NOT EXCAVATED

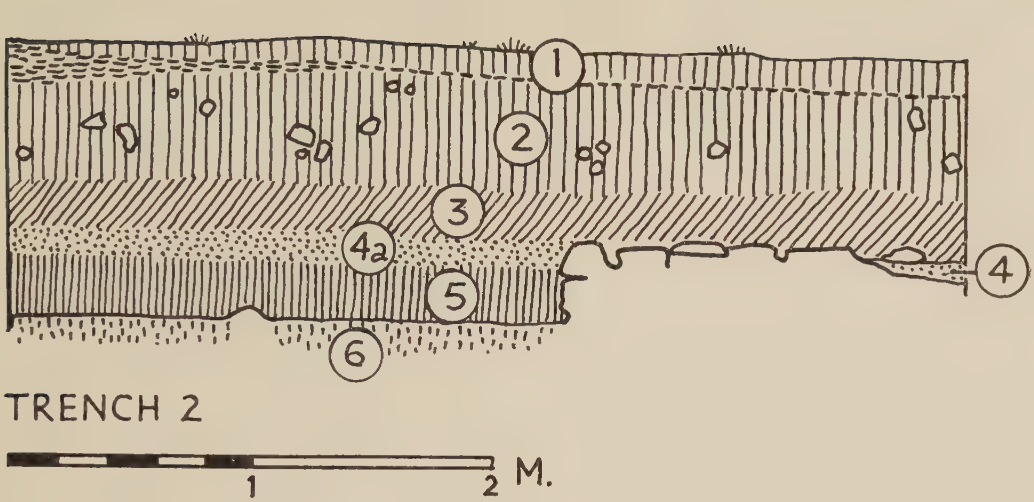


Fig. 3. Trench 2, Section

Suggested Interpretation

It is evident that the ground here was much disturbed in recent times, probably by Whitaker's men. In the western part of the trench, the disturbance only ceases at level 6, while in the eastern part the grey mud with possible stone foundations (4) seems to be the earliest surviving layer. This very irregular patchwork includes one good cut block (not in situ). Layer 6 gives the impression of an ancient shore deposit containing refuse dropped at various times.

The suggested sequence would thus be—

III.	Later disturbance	layers 1–3, 4a, 5
II.	Poor building?	layer 4
I.	Foreshore deposits	layer 6

The absence of clear traces of anything like a road or warehouse buildings, to be expected near a genuine inner port, deserves to be noticed. However, further evidence is required to unravel what may be the complex history of the 'cothon.' The fact that the modern water level was above the limits of the archaeological deposits is interesting: this observation tallies with findings in trenches 4a–b and 6b.

Trench 3

A trench, 4 × 2 m., to the north-west of the South Gate, at a distance of 6.7 m from the city wall. For position, cf. fig. 1; plan, fig. 4a; section fig. 4b.

Stratification

(1)	Brown top-soil (incl. stones in centre of trench)	
(2)	Burnt soil	
(3)	Mixed rubbish	arrowheads; roofing tile
(4)	Brownish earth	
(5)	Light plaster	

(6)	Brown earthy	many sherds, bones, fallen bricks; coin, *c.* 344–336 B.C.
(7)	Dirty brown with ash	
(8)	Brown ashy	
(9)	Pebbly flooring	

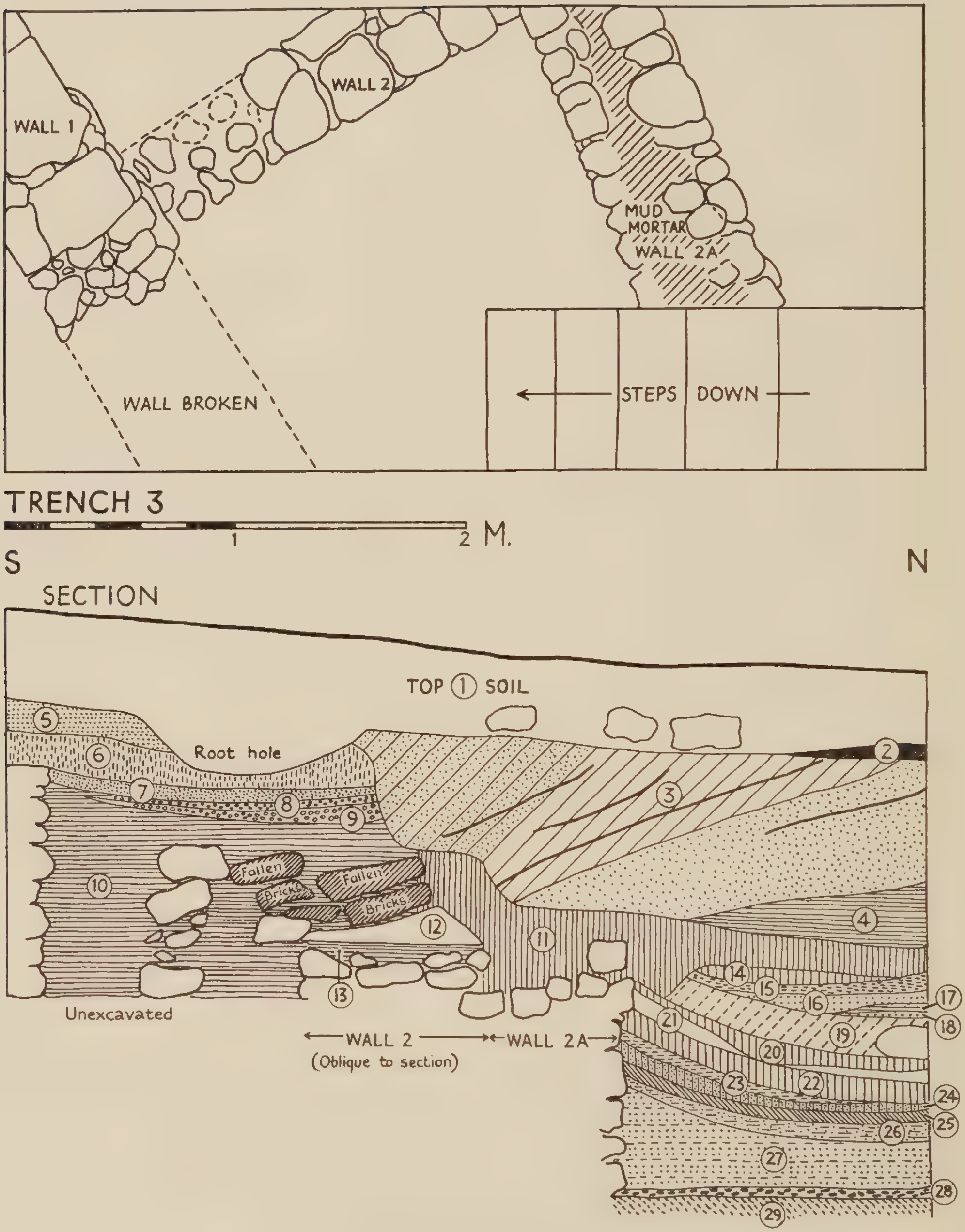

WALL 1
WALL 2
MUD MORTAR
WALL 2A
WALL BROKEN
STEPS DOWN
TRENCH 3
1
2 M.
S
N
SECTION
TOP ① SOIL
Root hole
Fallen Bricks
Fallen Bricks
Unexcavated
WALL 2
WALL 2A
(Oblique to section)
② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙

Fig. 4. Trench 3, Plan and Section

(10)	Brown soil	Black-glaze sherds, incl. south Italian and C6; part of arrowhead
(11)	Grey-brown earth	Protocorinthian and East Greek sherd; piece of blue and yellow glass.
(12)	White plaster	
(13)	Brown	
(14)	Grey	
(15)	Pink	
(16)	Yellow plaster	
(17)	Brownish-black flooring	pieces of black-glaze
(18)	Yellow flooring	pieces of black-glaze
(19)	Dirty yellow	pieces of black-glaze
(20)	Grey	piece of Corinthian cup; spindle-whorl
(21)	White plaster	Prehistoric and Phoenician sherds
(22)	Grey	
(23)	Brownish earth	
(24)	Dirty grey ashy	
(25)	Dark brown	
(26)	Brown and banded clay	
(27)	Banded black and yellow clay	prehistoric sherds only
(28)	Stiff black clay	prehistoric sherds only
(29)	Natural yellow clay	

Suggested Interpretation

V.	Squatters' occupation: layers 5, 2, stones in 1	C3?
	Denudation; rubbish streaks 3–4	
	Destruction; accumulation of debris	397 B.C. ff.
IV.	Building with wall 1: layers 7–9	C5 early
	Destruction; rubbish layers 10–13	C6 end?
III.	Renewal of building with walls 2–2a: layers 14–19	C6 mid?
	Destruction (?) or rebuilding	C6?
II.	First Phoenician building with walls 2–2a: layers 20–26	C7
I.	Prehistoric occupation. Layers 27–28	

The existence in this part of the island of a clearly defined sequence, including two major Phoenician building periods, would seem to make further exploration on a larger scale in this region advisable and promising.

Trench 4

Across the city wall to the east of the South Gate (cf. fig. 1).

It consisted of two parts, slightly stepped:

(*a*) inside (north of) the city walls, dimensions 6 × 2m., decreasing by steps

(*b*) outside (south of) „ „ „ 2.5 × 1.5 m., „ „ „

Section, fig. 5; view of trench 4a from north, pl. II, *a*.

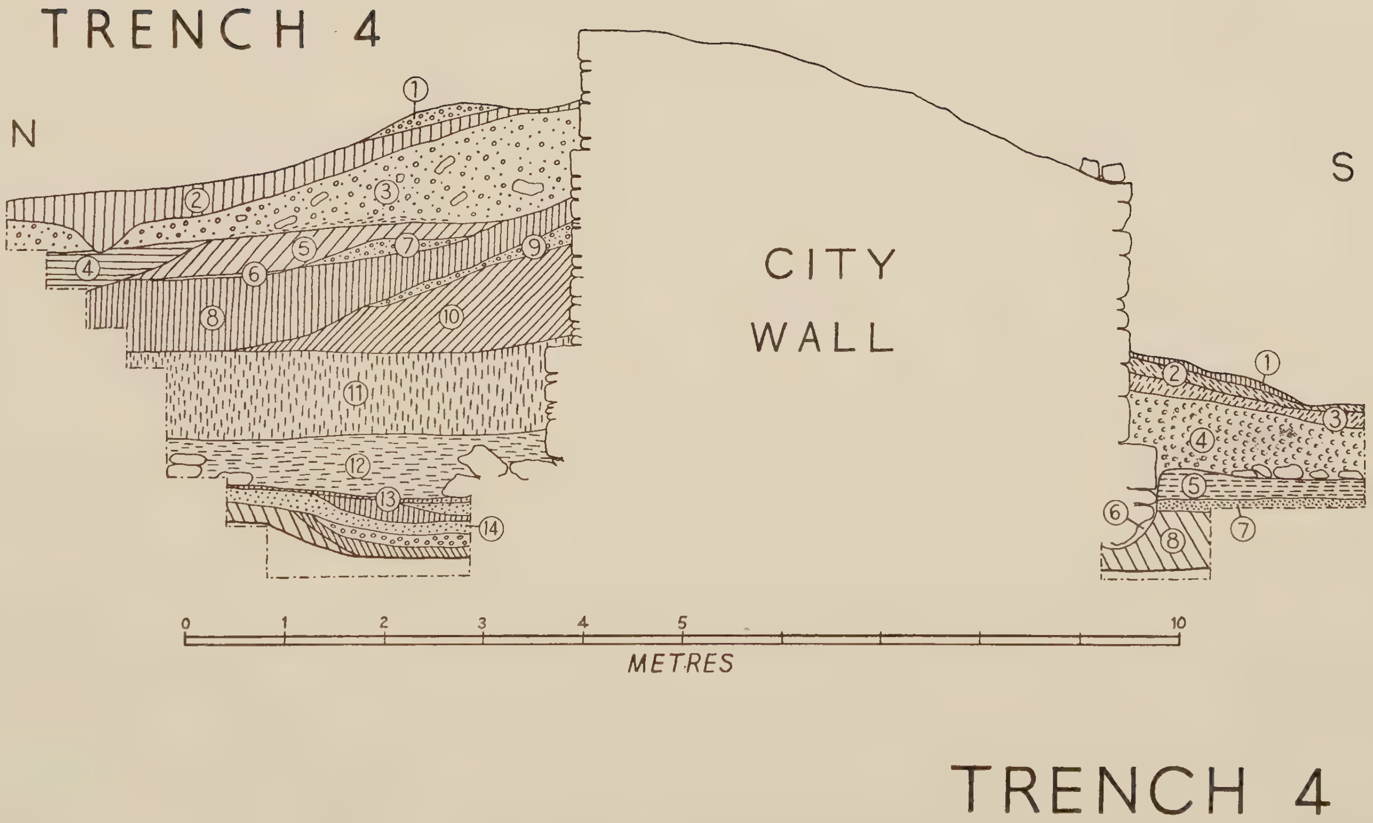

TRENCH 4
N
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑦
⑧
⑨
⑩
⑪
⑫
⑬
⑭
CITY
WALL
S
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑦
⑧
0
1
2
3
4
5
10
METRES
TRENCH 4

Fig. 5. Trench 4, Section through City Wall, near South Gate

Stratification

(*a*) *inside the city wall*

(1)	Red gravelly	
(2)	Brown top soil	
(3)	Red gravelly brick earth	Coins (420–397 B.C.; and C3 B.C.); arrowhead; broken wine jars and Greek lamps
(4)	Greyish brown soil	arrowheads; stone gutter and ashlar from city wall; C4 black-glaze and amphora fragments
(5)	Red gravel and clay	4 loomweights; black-glaze
(6)	White flooring	
(7)	Loose gravelly	
(8)	Mixed grey gravel and white	3 loomweights. Attic r.f. sherd
(9)	Orange loose gravelly	Corinthian C7/6
(10)	Dark grey-brown	Corinthian C7/6; East Greek; burnt matter, many bones, 4 arrowheads
(11)	Brown and yellow sticky clay	worn Corinthian and prehist.; 2 arrowheads
(12)	Dirty clayey and sandy soil	worn Corinthian and Sic.-Greek imitation (late C7)
(13)	Gravelly streak	
(14)	Yellow, grey and pink banded mud	prehistoric and early Phoenician sherds, burnt matter
(15)	Natural clay	

(*b*) *outside city wall*

(1)	Top soil	
(2)	Reddish brown earth	
(3)	Greenish yellow lumpy earth	East Greek sherd mid C6, arrowhead
(4)	Brown earth with gravel	worn Corinthian. Black-glaze
(5)	Yellow clay with stones	Black-glaze. Coin
(6)	Foundation trench	
(7)	Grey and black sand with stones	Black-glaze
(8)	Blue clay	
(9)	Natural clay	

Suggested Interpretation

Inside city wall	*Outside city wall*
IV. Post-destruction: layers 1–3 Hellenistic and later (incl. some re-occupation?) —— Destruction of Motya 397 B.C. Last floor at level 4/5	IV. Destruction and post-destruction: layers 1–2

Inside city wall	*Outside city wall*
III. Later stages of occupation : layers 6–10 (C6, middle and later) —— Break in sequence ? —— (Note arrowheads in layers 10–11. Above 10 the city wall shows fine masonry, below 10 rough work)	III. occupation level : layer 4. C6/5 ?
II. Earlier Phoenician occupation : layers 11–12 C7/6. Foundation of city wall	II. Foundation of wall. Layer 6. C6 ?
I. Prehistoric : layers 13–14	I. Pre-wall. Layers 5, 7, 8. C7/6 ?

The results of the section inside and outside the city wall do not tally entirely, and the deposits outside give an impression at once less definite and, if anything, later than those inside. This might partly be due to the fact that the thin layers outside the wall were easily turned up and contaminated, so that only the stratification inside the wall deserves to be taken into consideration. It is, however, possible also that the city wall was strengthened at some stage by the addition of a second, outer skin, and that, therefore, it is genuinely younger to the south than to the north. For this might be taken as an argument the considerable thickness of the wall here (about 6 m.) which is nearly twice the width of the wall as uncovered in trench 6 in the northern part of the island. It might be added that the city wall there did show indications of reconstruction (cf. below, p. 18). To establish the point additional work near the South Gate would be required, which limited time and resources forbade us to undertake in the first preliminary campaign.

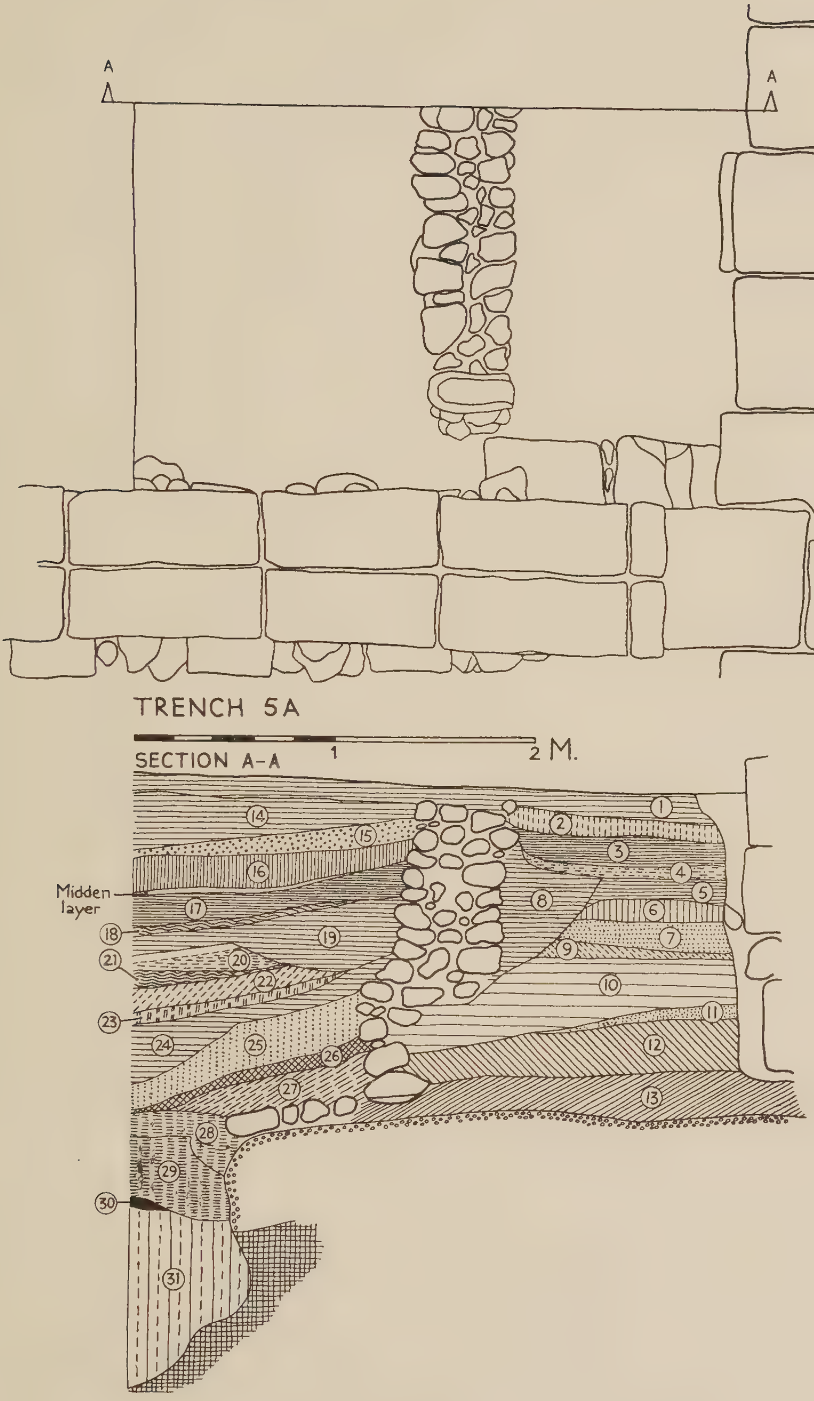
Trench 5a

A trench, 3 × 2 m. in the south-west corner of the central aisle of the 'Cappiddazzu' building. For position, cf. fig. 1; plan and section, figs. 6a and b; cf. the photos, pls. I, *b*, III, *a*.

Stratification

(N.B.—The upper strata were removed by Whitaker many years before our arrival).

(1)	Light brown soil	frags. Greek lamp. C6
(2)	Soft grey	
(3)	Hard brown	part of glass bottle
(4)	Hard streaky yellow	
(5)	Brown soil	Corinthian sherd C6; East Greek sherd first half of C6
(6)	Grey	


A
A
TRENCH 5A
SECTION A–A
1
2 M.
Midden layer
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
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23
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26
27
28
29
30
31

Fig. 6. Trench 5a, Plan and Section

(7)	Hard gritty brown	
(8)	Brown	
(9)	Grey ashy	
(10)	Dirty brown	Corinthian *c.* 600 B.C.; East Greek first half of C6 and later
(11)	Hard white flecked	
(12)	Ashy flecked	Corinthian late C7; East Greek C7/6; loom-weights; amphora sherds. Etruscan bucchero sherd
(13)	Stiff brown	
(14)	Brown	
(15)	Greyish cement frags.	
(16)	Grey brown	
(16a)	Midden layer	
(17)	Hard brown	East Greek sherd C6, mid.
(18)	Yellow clay floor	
(19)	Brown	East Greek or imitation, C6; Attic, late C6
(20)	White and ashy streak	
(21)	Yellow clay floor	
(22)	Brown and grey streaky	East Greek early to mid C6
(23)	Grey clayey	
(24)	Brown clay	
(25)	Stiff yellow and grey clay	
(26)	Ashy debris	East Greek early C6 (late C7 ?)
(27)	Mixed ashy brown and boulders	
(28)	Soft brown and yellow	
(29)	Soft brown	local ware, late C7 or early C6
(30)	Black earth	
(31)	Stiff grey pit fill	East Greek sherd
(32)	Foundation trench of temple	

Suggested Interpretation

We are here evidently in a region which had a long and complex history, and distinguished itself throughout by the rich character of the deposits, including much imported foreign pottery. In detail, development appears to have been something like the following :—

(Upper strata removed by Whitaker)

Building of present 'Cappiddazzu' structure (walls 1, 2). Layers 1 (contaminated), 32 C5 (late)

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Truncation of building with wall 3, possibly after some external event

Rebuilding of central wall 3. Floors and occupation levels 2–4, 8; 14–19	C6 (late)
destruction or desertion	
Rebuilding. Central wall, early stage; floors and deposits 21–25, 5–11 (excl. 8)	C6 (early?)
debris-layers, 26–27, 12 destruction	C7 (late)
I. pit (layers 28–31); simple building preserved as fallen boulders in 13	C7

The latest building in this series is the only one to have been constructed of ashlar, all the earlier ones being of rough rubble masonry; however, our evidence about this point seems to be incomplete, for the materials employed for the foundations of the final structure are definitely taken from some earlier building and re-employed in a secondary position (cf. the photo, pl. 1, *c*).

Trench 5*b*

This is a widening of a cutting made by Whitaker 6.2 m. to the north of the 'Cappiddazzu' building. The trench, 3 × 1.5 m., abuts against the white natural rock on the north and east sides.

This excavation is thus no true trench, but the section obtained here by working down the face of the earlier cut is nevertheless not without interest, particularly in view of the rich deposits of early pottery found. Cf. the section, fig. 7.

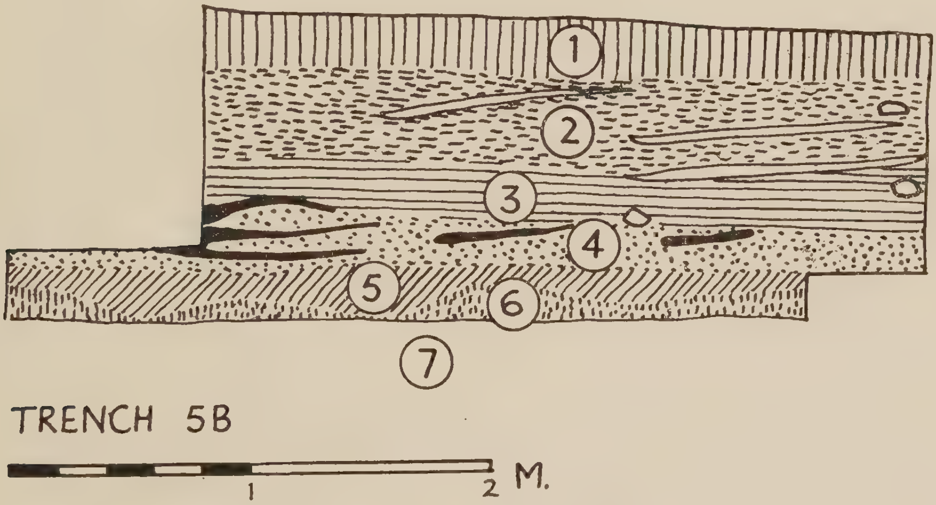

Fig. 7. Trench 5b, Section

Stratification

(N.B.—Upper layers have been removed by Whitaker).

(1)	Mixed surface soil	
(2)	Hard brown with white streaks	
(3)	Soft grey brown soil	
(4)	Grey brown with dark burnt patches	
(5)	Fine soft sandy	local imitation of Corinthian
(6)	Soft yellow clayey earth	East Greek local imitation, C6, and Corinthian
(7)	White hard clay (virgin soil)	

Suggested Interpretation

II.	Flooring: layer 2	C5, late?
	break? layer 3	
I.	First deposits in Cappiddazzu; layers 6–4	C7–6

The flooring here may well go with the erection of the last 'temple' in the 'Cappiddazzu,' while the earlier deposits would, *grosso modo*, correspond with the stages of the simpler rubble building there.

Trench 6

This trench, 14.4 × 2 m., straddles the stump of the old town wall on the north side of the island, between Whitaker's 'old' and 'new' necropolis. It is divided by the town wall into two sections, 6a inside (south of) the wall, and 6b outside (north of) it. Cf. fig. 1; plan, figs. 8, *a* and *b*; photos pls. I, *a*, III, *b*.

Stratification

(*a*) *Inside city wall*

(1)	Brown top soil	
(2)	Light and white speckled soil	
(3)	Brown earth	
(4)	White and brown speckled	Corinthian C6, and later sherds. 2 coins
(5)	White plaster	
(6)	Brown and speckled	
(6a)	Same, lower down	
(7)	Foundation trench in pit	
(8)	Brown earth	
(9)	Brown earth	
(10)	Chocolate brown	
(11)	Ashy patches and flooring	
(12)	Brown stony earth	

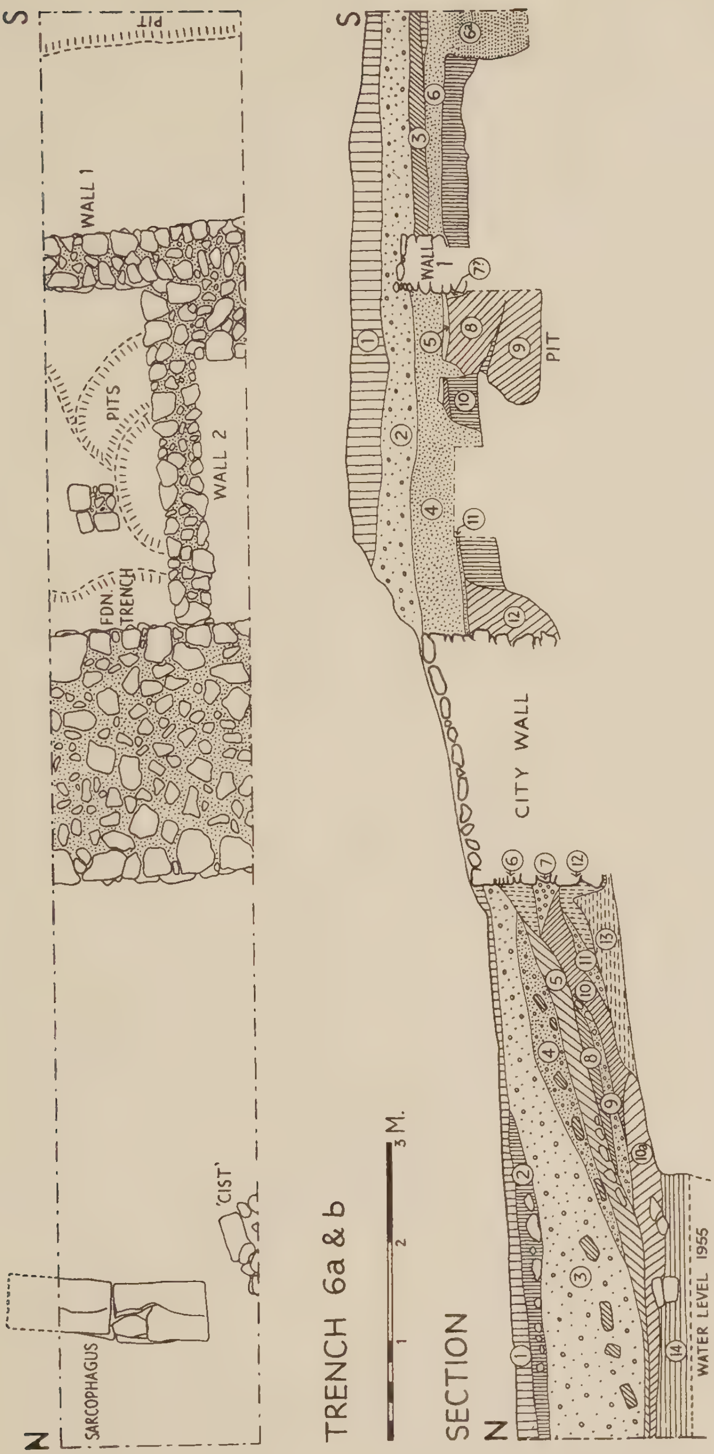
S
PIT
WALL 1
PITS
WALL 2
FDN. TRENCH
'CIST'
SARCOPHAGUS
N
TRENCH 6a & b
1
2
3 M.
SECTION
S
N
WALL 1
PIT
CITY WALL
WATER LEVEL 1955
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑥a
⑦?
⑧
⑨
⑩
⑩a
⑪
⑫
⑬
⑭

Fig. 8. Trench 6, Section through City Wall on North Side of Island

(*b*) *Outside the town wall*

(1)	Brown top soil	
(2)	Black and sandy earth with rough cobble path	
(3)	Light flecked soil	rubble and slipped wall stones, plaster, roofing tile, black-glaze
(4)	White soil with big stones from wall	wall plaster
(5)	Grey brown soil	2 arrowheads
(6)	Grey	
(7)	Brownish-white chippings	
(8)	White and red with bricks and plaster	
(9)	Greyish soil	
(10)	White and brown flecked	Attic sherd, late C6
(10a)	Mixed brown	
(11)	Hard white and brown flecked	Attic, late C6
(12)	Brown clayey	East Greek, 2nd quarter/mid C6
(13)	Brown and sooty cremation layer	East Greek, 2nd quarter/mid C6
(14)	Mixed blue clay	
(15)	Natural rock	

Suggested Interpretation

(*a*) *inside walls*	(*b*) *outside walls*
decay: layers 1–3	cobbled path 2
habitation and destruction: layers 4, 6	destruction of Motya 397 B.C.; rubbish streaks 3–5 (–9?)
building against city wall: floors 11, 5; walls 1, 2	renewing of city wall (after attack?) chippings 7. C5? (8, 9 possibly remnants of destruction linked with attack)
	Pit 14; cist (C6); sarcophagus (C6 late)
Building of city wall; pit 12	masonry chippings 12. mid C6
pits 9 (8?), 12, 6a	cremation layer 13. C6 early/mid
brown soil (humus contaminated) with prehist. flints and potsherds (10)	

Two points deserve additional remarks. Firstly, the rooms built against the city wall may either have been casemate-like stores for military equipment, such as are known archaeologically from Palestine and are attested for Phoenician towns in the pages of ancient writers; or they may have been part of a house built against the wall, in the fashion alluded to by Diodorus (XIV.51). Further excavation would settle the matter. Secondly, the sarcophagus, when found, was well within present ground water level: the bones were submerged in water which had entirely disarranged them. We can hardly assume the body was lowered into anything but earth above ground water level, and this would hint at a noticeable rise in the water table since then.

B. S. J. Isserlin

II. THE PHOENICO-PUNIC POTTERY AT MOTYA

(*a*) *Fabrics*

The term 'Punic' is here applied to all Motyan pottery, other than Greek and Italian imports, and a set of red, burnished hand-made wares found in the earliest levels of trenches 3 and 4 especially, which have no similarity to anything found at Carthage, but which relate on the one hand to certain wares found at al Mina on the Syrian coast, and on the other to local Motyan pre-historic. Perhaps these were the pots of the earliest Phoenician settlers on the island, and the only sherds at Motya which it might eventually prove permissible to call 'Phoenician' as distinct from Punic. At present it is unwise to say much more, for the vast subject of Carthaginian fabrics has still to receive systematic study.

The great variety of fabrics and colours used amongst the Punic wares makes it difficult to maintain simple distinctions, but it seems possible to outline a succession of wares and to give each group a duration of roughly half a century, although many other wares lasted more than a century.

From the earliest to the latest layers two wares, here called 'coarse pink' and 'coarse brick,' were in constant use for larger vessels, particularly jars of all types of rim. These wares are sometimes also employed for smaller vessels such as plates, etc., but never for the more refined vessels such as oenochoai and disk-topped jugs.

Two distinctive wares are mainly confined to layers earlier than those dated by sixth-century Greek imports: (1) a dull orange fabric coated with small grits on the exterior; this ware continues to the end of the sixth century; and, found with it, (2) grey and beige wares with a heavy white slip on the outside, well baked with few grits; from stratigraphic position it is likely that these wares belonged to the earlier part of the seventh century. In the later part of that century come a great variety of fine wares, 3–4 mm. thick. The clays are mostly orange or pink, with heavy white grits. Such fragments often carry a brilliant crimson, shell-pink, or thick white slip, sometimes decorated with horizontal stripes of brown. Unslipped sherds may also have a thick coat of scarlet or crimson paint.

Also, in layers equated with the seventh century occurs a coarse gritty thin grey ware with an outer slip of dull black and an inner slip of dull brown. This most unusual and attractive pottery, never found in large pieces, has no resemblance to any Carthaginian type. But sherds of well-purified hard red clay with a bright red or orange slip found with it are frequently found in the earliest tombs at Carthage.

In the earlier part of the sixth century occur sherds belonging to the type of urn used at Motya for incineration burials. These occur in a large variety of wares in shades from red to yellow, all with an outer wash of orange, beige, or cream, and painted bands of red or orange on the belly of the urn set off with thin black or brown lines. Handles are usually horizontal, and bear transverse stripes of black. One of these urn-wares was pale grey, the surface had received a pale grey wash, and a vivid chestnut belly-band with flanking black lines had been applied. This is of a type said to be characteristic of the Elymian sites at Segesta, etc.

'Sandwich' wares are characteristic of the sixth century deposits as a whole, and are so called because the walls of the vessels have, in baking, separated into three well-defined layers, the two outer either bright orange or red, and the inner charcoal-grey or black. These sandwich sherds seem all to be parts of disk-topped oenochoai or carinated bowls. On the outside is a pale wash of white or grey and often horizontal painted bands of red. The beauty of this ware contrasts sharply with a heavy flinty grey ware glistening with mica grits used at this period for larger vessels, especially jars and cooking pots and large one-handled urns. Often the vessels have been washed with white after firing.

In the middle sixth century the colour of the Punic wares differs sharply from those hitherto in use. The orange-reds give place to the use of a strawberry pink clay with a fine range of pink and pale crimson slips and washes. Sometimes the wares are baked to form a sandwich of deep strawberry and black. The ware is used mostly for carinated bowls, simple bowls, fruit stands and lamps. Some of these are made of a well purified pink ware with few grits, and their burnished surface is seldom slipped. This deep-pink ware is not found at Carthage, but is all-pervasive during the sixth century at Motya, where it sometimes has a glossy cream slip, or is speckled on the outer surface with heavy white grits.

At the end of the sixth century the earlier shades of red ware are resumed, and commonly at this period is found a dusty red ware, unslipped but smoothed on the outer surface and decorated with well-spaced thin black lines. This ware is used for saucers, shallow dishes, and plates. It lasts until the middle of the fifth century, and is commonly found in all Carthaginian settlements at this period. The expanding trade of Motya in the late sixth century led to the importation of many wares which might, or might not, be of Punic origin. Doubtless many superior foreign wares were imitated at Motya, particularly the fine cups imported from Ionia, some of which were copied at Motya in a fine white or pale green clay, with a bright orange or crimson outer slip with bands of orange or black fused into it.

In the early fifth-century layers, dated by a considerable quantity of imported Greek pottery, the Punic wares are mostly in a pale grey, soft flaky ware with white grits, or in a thick coarse grey ware with heavy pebbly grits. The former is used largely for piriform jugs and one-handled urns, the latter for the large hole-mouthed amphorae. All these vessels at this period bear traces of white wash, or of the distinctive pale green wash peculiar to Motya. By contrast, fragments occur in early fifth-century layers of a grey ware coated with a bright red slip and varnished and polished; this might well be a luxury ware imported from Carthage.

Wares in the later part of the fifth century are largely coarse, the majority rather like cement in fabric, and apparently, according to experiments made with Motya clay, local products. Very rarely are the large vessels in this ware given a slip or wash. Other coarse wares are coloured pale pink and pale orange, and were in use for making button-based urns and jars while a well-refined orange clay with a heavy cream slip and glaze on both sides, found at Carthage in the Hellenistic period and there as at Motya decorated with bands of red paint, is the last outstanding ware at Motya before the uniform pinkish grey fabric of Motya's latter days, and of the new settlement on Cape Lilybaeum, came into universal use.

b. Punic Pottery at Motya: The Forms

Amongst the forms of Punic pottery found at Motya it is possible to find parallels to the following types on the diagrams (figs. 9, 10), either at Carthage or at other Punic or Phoenician sites. The bulk of the pottery, however, represents forms found only at Motya or in Greek sites in western Sicily (e.g., type 6 at Selinus and Gela). References to Cintas are to P. Cintas, *Céramique Punique* (Klincksieck, Paris, 1950).

Type 2. Parts of straight-sided bowls, sometimes broken in such a way as to indicate the presence of a foot, perhaps forming a fruit-stand or incense-burner with double cup. Cintas no. 87.

Type 5. Bowls with carinated profile. These are exceedingly common at Motya but do not occur at Carthage, or elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean. The profile is, however, similar to Iron Age bowls (Tufnell, *Lachish*, iii, types of class B 7), but the only close parallels to the Motya examples come from the Syrian site of Mishrife-Qatna (Mesnil du Buisson, *Mishrife-Qatna*, p. 77, fig. 19).

The typical burnish of the Palestinian bowls in particular is absent from most of the Motyan specimens.

Type 9. One-handled cooking pots occur commonly at Carthage (Cintas, no. 58) and were commonly found by Whitaker (*Motya*, p. 251, fig. 32) as part of the furniture of cremation burials. There seems to be no difference in date between the type with everted rim and the type with rolled rim. There are no parallels to this type amongst published pottery from Iron Age Palestine, but unpublished examples exist in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, in material from tombs of the Phoenician coast at ez-Zib. At Motya, as at Carthage, the type disappears in the early fifth century.

Type 10. Keeled bowls are relatively common in the earlier strata at Motya and are vessels of the finest fabric found there. The ware is usually well-refined light brown clay. Red paint is applied to the upper parts, both inside and out. These bowls do not occur on any other Punic site, but are common at ez-Zib (Palestine Archaeological Museum) on the Phoenician coast and in seventh-century contexts at al-Mina in Syria (material in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

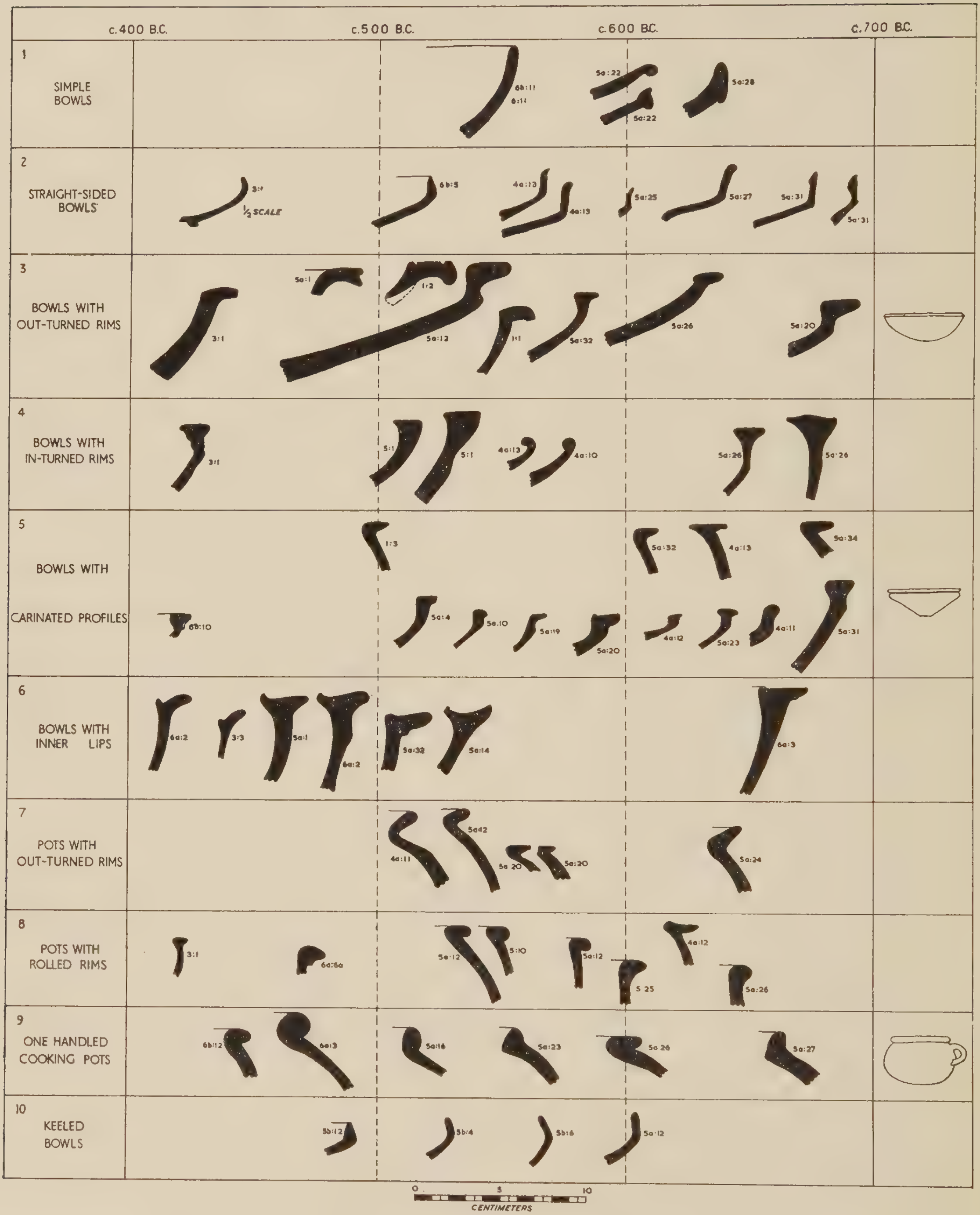
c.400 B.C.
c.500 B.C.
c.600 B.C.
c.700 B.C.
1 SIMPLE BOWLS
6b:11
6:11
5a:22
5a:22
5a:28
2 STRAIGHT-SIDED BOWLS
3:1
½ SCALE
6b:5
4a:13
4a:13
5a:25
5a:27
5a:31
5a:31
3 BOWLS WITH OUT-TURNED RIMS
3:1
5a:1
1:2
5a:12
1:1
5a:32
5a:26
5a:20
4 BOWLS WITH IN-TURNED RIMS
3:1
5:1
5:1
4a:13
4a:10
5a:26
5a:26
5 BOWLS WITH CARINATED PROFILES
1:3
5a:32
4a:13
5a:34
6b:10
5a:4
5a.10
5a:19
5a:20
4a:12
5a:23
4a:11
5a:31
6 BOWLS WITH INNER LIPS
6a:2
3:3
5a:1
6a:2
5a:32
5a:14
6a:3
7 POTS WITH OUT-TURNED RIMS
4a:11
5a:12
5a 20
5a:20
5a:24
8 POTS WITH ROLLED RIMS
3:1
6a:6a
5a:12
5:10
5a:12
4a:12
5 25
5a:26
9 ONE HANDLED COOKING POTS
6b:12
6a:3
5a:16
5a:23
5a 26
5a:27
10 KEELED BOWLS
5b:12
5b:4
5b:6
5a:12
0
5
10
CENTIMETERS

FIG. 9. PUNIC POTTERY-TYPES AT MOTYA

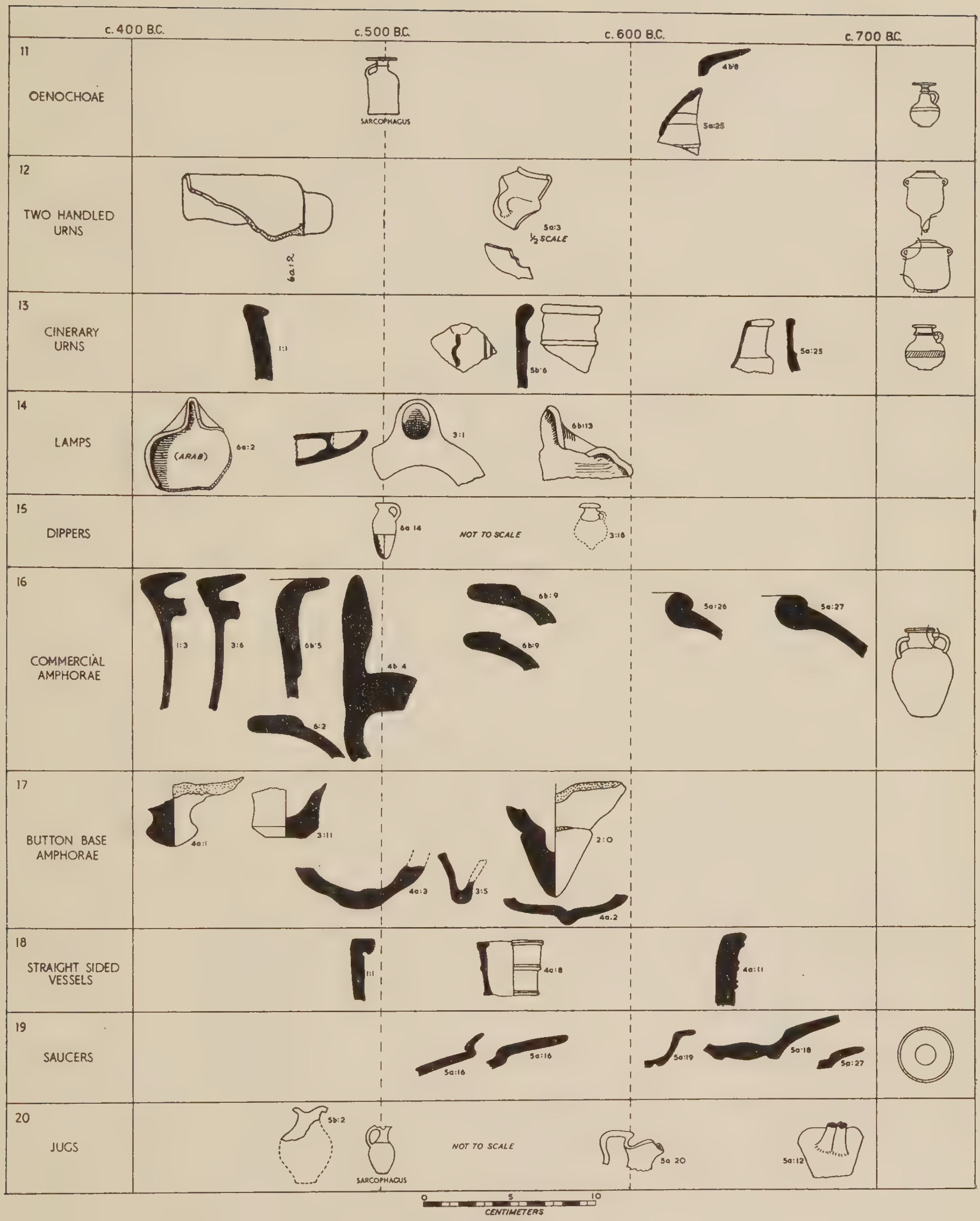
c. 400 B.C.
c. 500 B.C.
c. 600 B.C.
c. 700 B.C.
11
OENOCHOAE
SARCOPHAGUS
4b:8
5a:25
12
TWO HANDLED URNS
6a:2
5a:3
½ SCALE
13
CINERARY URNS
1:1
5b:6
5a:25
14
LAMPS
(ARAB)
6a:2
3:1
6b:13
15
DIPPERS
6a 14
NOT TO SCALE
3:16
16
COMMERCIAL AMPHORAE
1:3
3:6
6b:5
4b 4
6:2
6b:9
6b:9
5a:26
5a:27
17
BUTTON BASE AMPHORAE
4a:1
3:11
4a:3
3:5
2:0
4a.2
18
STRAIGHT SIDED VESSELS
1:1
4a:8
4a:11
19
SAUCERS
5a:16
5a:16
5a:19
5a:18
5a:27
20
JUGS
5b:2
SARCOPHAGUS
NOT TO SCALE
5a 20
5a:12
0
5
10
CENTIMETERS

Fig. 10. Punic Pottery-Types at Motya (*cont.*)

Type 11. A few fragments of disk-topped jugs were found in the excavation. This is a common Punic form, Cintas, no. 65. It does not seem to occur later than the sixth century, and is a common piece of grave furniture at Motya. The examples preserved in the Motya museum differ slightly from examples found at Carthage in that the profile is more delicate and bell-shaped. This type of vessel occurs commonly in Cyprus, at al-Mina, Syria (Ashmolean Museum), ez-Zib (Palestine Museum), and is also found at Athlit (Johns, *Q.D.A.P.*, vi (1938), p. 143, fig. 7, and Megiddo, stratum IV (G. Loud, *Megiddo*, ii, pl. 148, no. 8 and pl. 91, 4), as well as at Ain Shems (Grant and Wright, *Ain Shems*, v, p. 140).

Type 12. Straight-shouldered urns have not been commonly found at Motya, but are frequent on all other Punic sites. Cintas, no. 230, etc. To many of these belong the button bases, type 17.

Type 13. From Whitaker's excavations it seems that this was the commonest form of cinerary urn at Motya. Its chief feature is the neck-ridge continuing from the handle. Stratified fragments make it likely that it did not outlast the sixth century. Common at Carthage, Cintas, nos. 90–95, and elsewhere on the North African coast, Cintas, *Contribution à l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc*, figs. 62, 63. (Mogador); Veuillemot, *Libyca*, iii (1955), pls. 5, 10; 6, 4 (Rachgoun).

Type 14. Of the common Punic pinched-beak lamp several fragments were found in levels dating before the fourth century, although they are too broken to allow much to be said about them. Greek lamps were likewise in use by then.

Type 15. The dippers found in the earlier strata are of the same general family derivation as those from Iron Age Palestine illustrated in *Lachish*, iii, pl. 88; however, this resemblance does not amount to a close parallel. The ampule type is found in Phoenicia only at ez-Zib, but both types are common at Carthage before the fifth century, cf. Cintas, no. 109, and *Contribution à l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc*, fig. 50.

Type 16. The commonest form of commercial amphora is the hole-mouth jar which seems to have been manufactured at Motya, and is commonly found at Selinunte, Camarina, and other Sicilian sites. Uncommon at Carthage, the hole-mouth occurs in the seventh-century tombs at Utica (Cintas, *Karthago*, ii, fig. 32). Examples occur rarely in Sardinia and Spain, where similar forms are the earliest amphorae represented in the Ampurias tombs, Almagro, *Ampurias*, i, p. 398. For the rest, apart from probable fragments of Rhodian and Chian type, the commercial amphorae found at Motya are of common Sicilian and Magna Grecian type.

Type 17. Button-based urns occur commonly in Carthage and Sardinia, cf. Cintas, nos. 322, 396. They are commonest in the fourth century.

Type 19. From the stratigraphic results at Motya it seems that the deep narrow-rimmed saucer may be earlier than the broad-rimmed type, and this evolution is borne out in general at Carthage.

Type 20. Very few fragments of jugs were found, although jugs of all types are found in abundance on all other Punic sites. There is a fragment of the wall of a piriform jug in red clay with red burnished slip. This seems Palestinian in type and close to jugs of similar ware and burnish, Lamon and Shipton, *Megiddo*, i, pls. 3, 4, 5, nos. 83–85, and p. 162; Albright, 'Tell-Beit Mirsim,' *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*, xii, p. 83, pl. 38 (A), nos. 14, 15, 16; Tufnell, *Lachish*, iii, pl. 86, no. 241.

The three pieces from the sarcophagus might usefully be discussed, because they form the only dated tomb group yet published from Motya, although it is apparent that Whitaker (cf. *Motya*, p. 246, fig. 31) found other sarcophagi with similar contents.

The largest piece is a disk-topped jug, height 25 cm., in beige-coloured clay, stained yellow on the outside (pl. II, *b*). There are traces of a former white wash, and of three closely set bands of red paint on the belly. The disk-top turns upwards at the edge, otherwise the example is similar to that in *Motya*, p. 297, fig. 73, second row. These jugs, which do not feature in Cintas, are a Sicilo-Punic type and examples came from Solunto (Trapani Museum) and Palermo (Museum). A close analogy to the type is found at Utica in tombs of the seventh century, Cintas, 'Deux campagnes de recherches à Utique,' *Karthago*, ii (1951), fig. 30.

A piriform jug of deep grey clay with a light grey wash is of a type common on most Punic sites, but not at Motya (pl. II, *c*). Pieces of similar vessels occur in the excavations from late sixth-century to early fifth-century strata. For the type, see Cintas, no. 193. This form is very common at Utica.

These two pieces are dated by a black-glazed kylix, discussed below by Mr. Brown, and dated to the end of the sixth century.

In so far as a general impression of the Motyan pottery can be formed, it seems that throughout its existence the Motyan forms and fabrics are closer to those of Utica than of Carthage. This suggests the independent Phoenician foundation of both sites, each with its commercial ties to Greece independent of those of Carthage. Although no incineration necropolis has yet been found at Utica, individual burials in sarcophagi with a few pottery vessels and scarcely any personal ornaments are found there, as at Motya, throughout the fifth century, a custom which distinguished both sites from Carthage where communal burials in built tombs were the norm. In the course of the sixth century, however, Carthaginian fabrics become common on the island, and by the fifth century Motya shares a great many forms and fabrics with other North African Punic sites, while still producing her own distinctive deep-pink wares. Apart from the production of commercial amphorae, the fall in individuality of the potter's art at Motya in the middle fifth century, and the dominance of general Punic forms, suggest that by this time Motya was completely incorporated as a dependent emporium in the Carthaginian commercial empire.

W. CULICAN

III. THE GREEK POTTERY

The fragments of Greek pottery from the excavations at Motya which I was able to examine in Rome[1] present no new information to the student of Greek vases, all being of types well known from other sites. None of the sherds seen by me bears figured representation, and none is of much intrinsic merit or interest except as a means of dating layers and structures on the site. This being so, it is unfortunate that the types of pottery represented, though familiar, are mostly hard to date with precision. Owing to circumstances, only a selection of the sherds could be sent away from Motya; it is, however, hoped that it offers a fair picture.

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[1] I am indebted to the Soprintendenza at Palermo, and to Prof. Drago and the staff of the Museo Preistorico in Rome for this opportunity. I should stress that I was not able to see *all* the Greek material found.

Among the sherds which I saw the largest category is of Eastern Greek origin. Perhaps the Corinthian begins earlier, however, and it will in any case be convenient to begin with the Corinthian fragments.[2]

Corinthian

A rim fragment from a kotyle made of well levigated clay of the typical Corinthian pale creamy colour, decorated in a pale purplish paint, should come from a kotyle of the last third of the seventh century, as Payne, *NC*, cat. nos. 198–200, *CVA Oxford*, ii, Cor. pl. I, 52 or 56. This came from Trench 5a, layer 12 (pl. IV,2). Another Corinthian kotyle rim fragment, from Tr. 5a, layer 10 (pl. IV,8), belongs to a type with a longer life. It need not be earlier than the last and may well be later (cf. Payne, *NC*, cat. nos. 32 and 201). A piece of a similar vase came from Tr. 5a, layer 5. Another fragment (from Tr. 5a, layer 8; pl. IV,5) gives part of the lower wall of a kotyle of a type of the first quarter of the sixth century (*NC*, no. 973); it cannot be said whether this vase had figures in the upper part like *NC*, pl. 33.

Body fragments from oenochoae or olpae, with considerable areas painted black and enlivened with added purple lines in groups between white, are probably still of the seventh century (Tr. 4, layers 10 and 11; one pl. IV, 1).

A fragment from the bottom of a well-made vase (from Tr. 6, layer 4, pl. IV, 9) is not from a kotyle (the profile of the foot is wrong) but is from an open vessel, being painted inside and embellished with an added red line around the outer edge of the inside of the bottom. Although I can quote no parallel, I thought of a pyxis as possible.

Besides the imported Corinthian pieces, there are a number of fragments of what seem to be local imitations. The fabric is clumsy, the clay powdery white, the paint poor and matt. Three pieces of kotylae of Corinthian shape, but in this fabric, come from Tr. 5a, layers 10 and 16 and (a handle) Tr. 5a, layer 10; a piece from a vase of uncertain shape from Tr. 5a, layer 29; two fragments, perhaps from a juglet of East Greek form, also from 5a, layer 10; a round disk-foot like that of a bird bowl from Tr. 4, layer 12. Of different fabric, coarse and fired reddish, is another kotyle fragment from Tr. 5b, layer 6.

Eastern Greek

The most numerous category of imported pottery comes from Eastern Greece, and consists of cups with offset lips.

Of one cup a considerable part of the bowl is preserved, although in many fragments, recovered from strata 6, 12 and 13 (part shown in pl. IV, 11). The fabric is that usual in these cups, with good hard clay of warm colour, not unlike that of Attic vases but slightly micaceous, as is normal for eastern clay. The interior is black, except for a reserved line along the inside edge of the rim. Unfortunately the foot is entirely missing. This type of cup is very well known and wide-spread, occurring wherever Eastern Greek material is found. There are many examples from the west (see Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, p. 472 ff. and, especially for their chronology, Villard and Vallet, in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, lxvii (1955), p. 14 ff. The type had a long life, this particular form being in vogue in the middle of the sixth century. Fragments of all-but identical cups came from Tr. 5a, layer 22 (pl. IV, 12); one (from Tr. 4b, layer 3, pl. IV, 14) has some decoration preserved in the handle zone close to the root of one handle.

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[2] Rough sketches of some sherds which were not sent to Rome suggest that there are some Corinthian sherds earlier than anything else described here, perhaps late eighth century, or early seventh. (Tr. 4, layer 14.)

One fragment (Tr. 1, layer 3) seems to come from the bowl of an East Greek cup of 'Little Master' shape, probably soon after the middle of the sixth century, cf. Sieveking and Hackl, pl. 18,529.

Besides these, there are fragments of several other cups with offset lips of various other fabrics, some perhaps local. The clay is usually softer, pinkish in colour; the paint is often matt and sometimes red.

A fragment from a very low level (Tr. 5a, layer 26, pl. IV, 4) is probably an import and may well be early. Its narrow lip, sharply offset, allies it to late seventh-century cups, and such may well be its date. Its paint is (now) soft, greyish brown.

Another fragment (from Tr. 5a, layer 12, pl. IV, 7) probably comes from such a cup as Sieveking and Hackl, pl. 18,480, or Lambrino, *Vases archaiques d'Histria*, p. 82, fig. 49, and is perhaps also an import of the late seventh century; it has no added red lines. In this fragment, as in another similar but less complete (Tr. 5a, layer 26), there is a jog at the junction between lip and bowl outside instead of a smooth transition.

Other cup rims are almost certainly of local fabric: one of coarse clay, reddish in the break (Tr. 5b, layer 6), has four lines on the lip and the usual broad reserved zone on the shoulder; others (Tr. 6, layer 13; 5a, layer 19) are similar, the last being of deep red clay.

Eastern Greek, and belonging to the same general horizon as the cups first mentioned above, are a fragment of a juglet from Tr. 5a, layer 17, of the type of Sieveking and Hackl, figs. 62–63, Lambrino, *op. cit.*, p. 164 ff., which is common in East Greek contexts (there is also an apparent local imitation from Tr. 5a, layer 14); a rim fragment of a dish, perhaps similar to Sieveking and Hackl, pl. 19,531 (although the profile of the rim is different); a fragment of a lid with stripes outside, black inside (Tr. 5a, layer 12, pl. IV, 13), to which may belong another lid fragment with a knob from Tr. 5a, layer 19; and a fragment of a bowl from Tr. 5a, layer 10 (pl. IV, 10) with a lip which is not sharply offset but modulated with a concave outer profile. All these are doubtless of the sixth century, mostly of the middle and second half of the century.

Attic

There is one complete Attic vase and a few Attic sherds.[3]

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[3] Among the sherds of which I have only seen rough sketches are some which might be Attic red-figure.

The complete vase (pl. III, *c*) came from the sarcophagus (ht. 0.10; diam. 0.24) and is known to me only from the photograph. It is a substantially made cup of type C (Bloesch, *Formen*, p. 111 ff., pls. 32 ff.) in which the foot is separated from the bowl only by a fillet. The bowl is deep and has an outward curving offset lip. The whole is painted black except the edge of the foot, which has the profile normal for cups of Type A, and not found on any of the examples of Type C illustrated by Bloesch. The date is likely to be the late sixth century.

A foot from another, unstratified, cup of type C is a heavy but well made piece with the commoner simple torus profile: the fillet has added purple, the edge of the foot and the lower surface on which the vase stood are reserved, as is the under surface of the bowl inside the top of the foot. Otherwise the whole is black, inside and out, and not enough of the bowl is preserved to make it certain that the cup was other than black all over: any figure decoration was probably black-figure, for this foot is of the conservative low-stemmed variety. Two fragments of lips with a profile which is outwardly concave, painted black inside and out, could be from Attic cups of type C or from Acrocups (Tr. 5a, layer 19, and Tr. 6, layer 10); late sixth century. Other Attic cup-fragments (one from Tr. 6, layer 1) are black on both sides and preserve no features of the shape which could enable them to be dated.

A small rim fragment (unstratified, surface near Tr. 1; pl. IV, 6) comes from a late black-figure stemless cup (or possibly from a broad kotyle): preserved is the slightly offset lip, painted black, and a scrap of the picture zone, with part of a branch and what is probably part of a handle palmette (cf. for example Ure, *Sixth and Fifth century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. XXI).

The largest Attic fragment is from the body of a large vase, a krater, and comes from Tr. 6, layer 11, but it is disappointing, being almost entirely from the black part of the vase, with the start of a vertical framing pattern from one side of the picture, a hastily done vine spray. There are no remains of the picture itself. The date is probably late sixth century.

Unstratified is the only piece of Etruscan bucchero which I was shown, a small scrap from the rim of a kantharos, no doubt of the sort which is not uncommon in the late seventh and sixth centuries at various Greek sites in Sicily.

W. L. Brown

IV. THE COINS

I saggi di scavo eseguiti dalla Missione Inglese per conto dell'Università di Oxford, nell'isola di Mozia durante l'estate del 1955, hanno messo in luce scarso materiale numismatico; complessivamente sette monete di bronzo, di cui quattro indecifrabili. Dalla Trincea 4a, strato 3, proviene una monetina anonima di tipo poco frequente, databile al 317 a.C. in poi, la cui emissione si protrasse fino alla dominazione romana (241 a.C.). Questa monetina pesa gr. 1.38 e misura 9 mm. di diametro; presenta sul diritto la parte anteriore di un cavallo in corsa a destra, sul rovescio una palma; si suole attribuire ad Erix, dato il numero considerevole che, insieme con altri tipi se ne raccolse nel territorio di questa città (Gabrici, *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica*, pag. 97 e pag. 132,60).

Dalla Trincea 4, strato 3 proviene una monetina di 10 mm. di diametro e di gr. 0.82 di peso. Essa presenta al diritto una testa femminile di prospetto, con collana; al rovescio un granchio e sotto dei caratteri fenici, da interpretarsi come il nome "Mtva" se non lo impedisse lo stato di conservazione della moneta. Il Gabrici, *op. cit.* pag. 152, n. 7 e Tav. II, n. 22, ricorda un esemplare di questo stesso tipo pure rinvenuto a Mozia e l'attribuisce a questa città per il periodo 420–397 a.C.

La terza moneta proviene dalla Trincea 3, strato 6 ed appartiene a Siracusa; presenta al diritto la testa di Athena a sin. con galea corinzia coronata di alloro e munita di gronda arricciata; davanti Συρα, il tutto in un cerchio lineare; al rovescio si vede un ippocampo a sin.; misura 18 mm. di diametro e pesa gr. 4.76. Si tratta di un trias di Syracusae del periodo di Timoleonte (344–336 a.C.)—Gabrici, *op. cit.* pag. 172, no. 65 e per il tipo Tav. III, n. 2 a–b.

Aldina Tusa Cutroni

THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT CYRENE

(Studies and Discoveries in 1954–1957. Plates V–VIII)

PART I. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD

Cyrene's largest religious building, the great Temple of Zeus on the north-eastern hill of the city, has been the subject of several explorations. Its cella was partially dug out by Smith and Porcher in 1861,[1] and was completely cleared of soil by the late Giacomo Guidi in 1926,[2] in the excavation which brought to light the famous head of Zeus, pieced together from over a hundred fragments. Then, in the years 1939–1942, fuller work was carried out by Dr. Gennaro Pesce, who published a detailed report with admirable promptness.[3] Despite the interruptions caused by the North African campaigns of the World War, Pesce was able to clear the greater part of the Temple and its fallen peristasis. At the conclusion of his work only the opisthodomos remained unexcavated, although much fallen stone still encumbered the pronaos and the eastern portico.

However, a final 'systematisation' of the ruins, including the re-erection of one or more columns of the peristasis, was still needed before they could become readily intelligible to the visitor. As a preliminary step the Department of Antiquities of Cyrenaica began, in the autumn of 1954, the clearance of some of the more shapeless stones from the pronaos and east portico. In the summer of 1957 the Royal Engineers of Cyrenaica Military District generously accepted the Department's invitation to re-erect one of the fallen columns of the peristasis as a training programme.[4] Much still remains to be done, but the Temple has already regained something of its former dignity.

During the course of the clearances of 1954 large fragments of a monumental inscription came to light within the pronaos, and proved to be additions to a text already published in part by Pesce. In the light of the information provided by these new fragments the other published inscriptions relating to the architectural history of the Temple were re-examined, together with the material remains of the Temple itself. The results of these studies, published below, refer only to the Roman period of the Temple's life. The vexed question of its original construction remains open and will only be resolved by future stratigraphical excavation.

In offering somewhat drastic revisions of the epigraphic texts published by Pesce, the writers have been conscious of the fact that his report was written at a time when access to Cyrene was impossible to him, and he had therefore no opportunity of re-checking the material on the ground. They must also express their indebtedness to Es-Sayed Sabir Yusef, the present Deputy Controller of Antiquities, who personally supervised the clearances which brought to light the new epigraphic material.

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[1] R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* (London, 1864), p. 71 and pl. 55.

[2] No detailed report was published by Guidi, but the major finds are listed in his article 'Lo Zeus di Cirene' in *Africa Italiana*, i (1927), pp. 4–6. The remainder are included in Pesce's reports—see note 3.

[3] G. Pesce, 'Il Gran Tempio in Cirene,' *BCH*, lxxi–lxxii (1947–1948), pp. 307–358, hereafter referred to as Pesce, *Gr. T.*; 'La documentazione epigrafica . . . del Gran Tempio in Cirene,' *Bull. Soc. Roy. d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, no. 39 (1951), pp. 83–129, hereafter referred to as Pesce, *Doc.*

[4] A brief note on this work appears as an Appendix to the present paper.

A. *The Inscription above the Entrance to the Cella,* (fig. 1)

During Guidi's excavation of 1926 three pieces of a large monumental inscription[5] were found among the fallen stones in the pronaos of the Temple: a further four pieces came to light in 1954. One of the latter was found lying face downwards on a clay filling corresponding to the latest floor-level of the pronaos, and the vivid rubrication of its letters, together with signs of burning, strongly suggested that it lay as it had fallen at the final destruction of the Temple. From this it may be inferred that the paving-slabs of the pronaos had been removed at some time prior to that final destruction.[6]

The original width of the inscription can be calculated from its first line as *c.* 7.3 m., and its height as 1.5 m. It must, therefore, have occupied the greater part of the width of the pronaos, and can only have stood in the face of the wall immediately above the doorway giving access to the cella. The new fragments, like those previously found, have the inscription carved on the upper surfaces of Doric capitals, of which the echinoi have been chipped away so as to form rectangular building blocks. From the size of these capitals, which are smaller than those of the peristasis, it seems highly probable that they originally belonged to the interior colonnades of the cella and were dismantled during the Antonine remodelling.

Pesce published the three blocks found by Guidi as part of a relatively short text naming Marcus Aurelius but without his full imperial titles. The new fragments show that the inscription was on a much larger scale. It is unfortunate that so much is missing in the last three lines:[7] but although the pronaos itself is unlikely to yield further fragments, there is still hope that some stray block may turn up elsewhere in the Temple. Meanwhile the seven surviving blocks give the following text:

[῾Υ]πὲρ τᾶς [Αὐ]το[κράτορος Καίσ]α̣ρος Μ(άρκω) Αὐρηλίω [᾿Αν]τωνείν[ω Σεβαστῶ ᾿Αρμενι]
[α]κῶ Παρθ[ικῶ Μηδικῶ Γερ]μανικῶ τύχας καὶ ν[ε]ίκας καὶ α[ἰωνίας διαμονᾶς]
[κ]αὶ τῶ σύνπνατος ὠτῶ οἴκω καὶ ἱερᾶς συν̣κλήτω [καὶ δάμω ῾Ρωμαίων]
[ἁ] πόλις [ἁ Κυ]ρανάων ἁ ματρόπολις τὸν ν[αὸν] τῶ [Διὸς . . *c.* 7 . . τὸν]
[κα]τ̇[αβλ]η̣θέντα τοὶ ᾿Ιουδ[αικοὶ ταράχοι . . *c.* 14 . .]
[. . *c.* 9 . .]μα ἀνέστα[σ]εν [. . *c.* 26 . .]

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[5] Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 90 ff. = *A*(*nnée*) *E*(*pigraphique*) 1954, no. 41.

[6] There are other cases at Cyrene of pagan temples having been stripped of part or all of their flooring before being deliberately burned out. See below, p. 40.

[7] To the 26-letter lacuna at the right-hand side of the bottom line must belong a small fragment with the letter O followed by the upright stroke of the following letter, and with the broad horizontal margin that marks the bottom of the inscription. There is insufficient evidence for placing it in correct register, and it is therefore excluded from fig. 1.

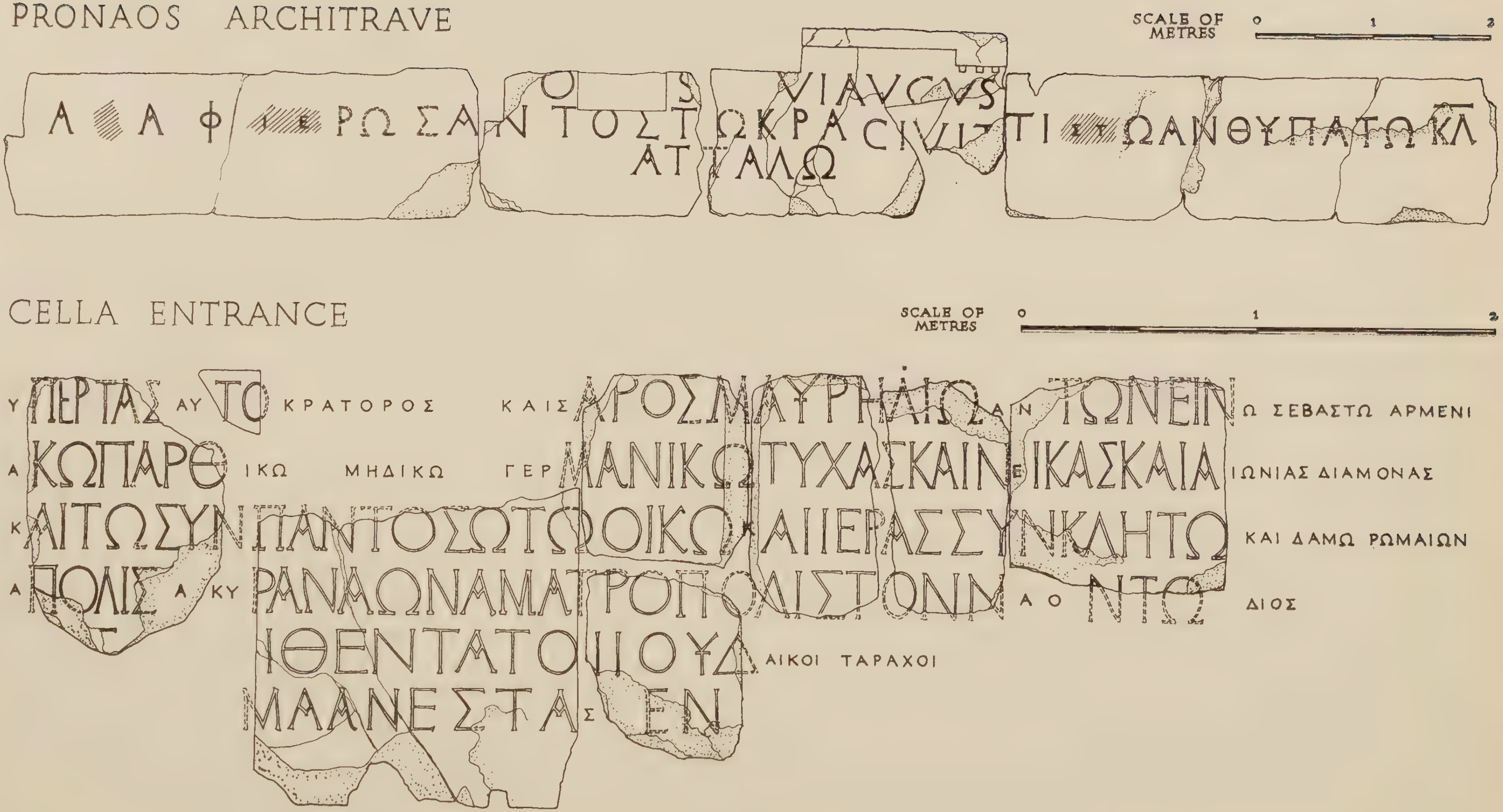
PRONAOS ARCHITRAVE
SCALE OF METRES
0
1
2
Α Α Φ Ι Ε ΡΩ ΣΑ Ν ΤΟΣ Τ ΩΚΡΑ ΤΙ Σ Τ ΩΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΚΛ
O S VIAVGVS CIVIT
ΑΤΤΑΛΩ
CELLA ENTRANCE
SCALE OF METRES
0
1
2
Υ ΠΕΡ ΤΑΣ ΑΥ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ ΑΡΟΣ ΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΩΝΕΙΝ Ω ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΑΡΜΕΝΙ
Α ΚΩ ΠΑΡΘ ΙΚΩ ΜΗΔΙΚΩ ΓΕΡ ΜΑΝΙΚΩ ΤΥΧΑΣ ΚΑΙ Ν Ε ΙΚΑΣ ΚΑΙ Α ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΔΙΑΜΟΝΑΣ
Κ ΑΙ ΤΩ ΣΥΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΩΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ Κ ΑΙ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΩ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
Α ΠΟΛΙΣ Α ΚΥ ΡΑΝΑΩΝ ΑΜΑΤ ΡΟΠΟ ΛΙΣΤ ΟΝΜ Α Ο ΝΤΩ ΔΙΟΣ
ΙΘΕΝΤΑΤΟ ΙΙ ΟΥΔ ΑΙΚΟΙ ΤΑΡΑΧΟΙ
ΜΑΑΝΕΣΤΑ Σ ΕΝ

Fig. 1.

1. The date is between 172 when Marcus took the title Germanicus, and 175 when he added that of Sarmaticus.

2. The restorations proposed in ll. 1–4 are subject only to minor reservations. Towards the end of l. 4 there may have been a cult-title of Zeus, perhaps Ὀλύμπιος as in the inscription of Aurelius Rufus (see p. 60). Pesce suggested Σωτήριος, since he believed that this appeared on the base of the cult statue, but his interpretation of the relevant fragment there is by no means certain (see p. 35).

In ll. 5 and 6 restoration is more difficult. An obvious possibility for the beginning of l. 6 is [καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ]μα, and if it is right the lines might be completed something as follows:

> [κα]τ[αβλ]ηθέντα τοῖ Ἰουδ[αικοῖ ταράχοι ἀνῳκοδόμησεν]
> [καὶ τὸ ἄγαλ]μα ἀνέστα[σ]εν [. . .

The new cult-statue was not in fact dedicated until after 185 (see p. 35) but an anticipation of it here would be natural enough if the whole interior was planned around it (see p. 43). Alternatively l. 6 may have contained a reference to the authority that stimulated the Cyrenaeans to rebuild, e.g.

> . . . κατὰ τὸ Αὐτοκράτ]
> [ορος διάταγ]μα ἀνέστα[σ]εν [. . .

3. Of the dialect forms used in the text two only seem to call for comment: ὠτῶ in l. 3, for which see Schwyzer, *Dialect. Graec. Exempla Epigraphica* (Leipzig, 1923), no. 33, from Sparta; and τοῖ in l. 5 for which see *SEG*, ix, 171, 1.2, at Cyrene.

Despite the lacunae, it is clear from this inscription that the Temple, in common with other religious and secular buildings at Cyrene,[8] had suffered severely in the Jewish Revolt of 115, and that major repairs were not completed before 172–175, by which time the city had already enjoyed for some years the title *metropolis*, presumably in the sense 'capital city,' in place of the simple *civitas* or *polis* used in inscriptions before and during the reign of Hadrian.[9]

The precise character of the damage suffered during the revolt can only be assessed from archaeological evidence, and this must be interpreted with caution lest the Jewish zealots of 115 be credited with the work actually performed by Christian enthusiasts at a much later date. It is, however, quite certain that the forty-six columns of the peristasis fell in the earlier period, and as a result of deliberate overturning. Pesce, finding column-drums, apparently from the peristasis, built into the foundations of the base of the Commodan cult-statue, rightly concluded that the former had fallen before 185; but he attributed the fall to an earthquake not otherwise documented in the history of the city.[10]

Closer examination of the stylobate of the peristasis on the two longer sides of the Temple shows that the blocks on which the lowest drums of the columns rested have been deliberately cut away for half their width; and in the cavities thus formed there are traces of burning only attributable to the firing of wooden props which supported the columns while the undermining was in progress. In the case of two columns on the south side of the Temple, the bottom drum still rests, at an angle, in the cavity, in a manner quite incompatible with the theory of an earthquake. On the two shorter sides of the Temple the columns were not undercut, and we may assume that once the longer sides had fallen the remainder could be overturned by tackle and man-power without resorting to undermining.[11]

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[8] Cf. S. Applebaum, *JRS*, xl (1950), p. 87 ff.

[9] The earliest dated instance of this title is in *SEG* ix, 170, of A.D. 161. Since it does not appear in *SEG* ix, 136, of the last year of Hadrian's reign, it seems possible that it was a development due to Antoninus Pius, who was certainly a notable benefactor of the Cyrenaeans. For a different view of the meaning of the title see J. A. O. Larsen, *C. Phil.*, xlvii (1952), p. 8.

[10] Pesce, *Gr. T.*, p. 349.

After the columns had fallen, certain of them were dismantled and their drums taken away. On the north side of the Temple there still remains a group of column-drums laid out horizontally, whilst on the south, at a point where two columns have completely disappeared, one isolated drum lies abandoned while in process of being cut down to a smaller diameter. It seems, therefore, that once the decision had been made not to re-erect the peristasis, it served as a source of materials for other buildings of smaller, but none the less respectable, proportions. This fact, together with the presence, already noted, of large drums in the Commodan cult-statue base, is conclusive proof that the peristasis fell in the second-century A.D. and not later.

The cost of restoring the cella of the Temple, and of equipping it with a colossal new cult-statue, was evidently a sufficient strain on civic resources and private benefactions. After quarrying and building had ceased, the fallen columns were probably covered with soil so as to free the approaches to the podium; but the tips of the enormous capitals must still have protruded to remind the visitor that the Temple of Zeus had once been peripteral.

B. *The Inscription on the Statue-base*

It has already been said that the inscription of 172–175 over the doorway of the cella may refer to the restoration of the cult-statue which, according to the inscription found by Guidi on the cornice of its base,[12] was dedicated between 185 and 192. Certain modifications to the text of this cornice inscription as published by Pesce may be suggested in the light of a re-examination of the surviving fragments in Cyrene Museum and of pre-war photographs in the archives of the Department of Antiquities.[13] It should be noted that these burnt and fragile stones suffered to some extent during their transportation from Cyrene to Leptis Magna and back during the war. Some of the consequent lacunae can, however, be filled from the photographs just mentioned.

Since the width of the base is known, and since both the left-hand and the right-hand ends of the inscribed cornice have survived, it is possible to calculate the total number of letters in the complete text as approximately 270.

The substance of the text (a single line) can be established as follows:

Ὑπὲρ τᾶς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ(άρκω) Αὐρηλίω Κομ̣[μόδω ᾿Αν]των̣[ε]ί̣νω
Εὐσε[βοῦς] Εὐτυ[χοῦς] Σεβαστῶ [σω]τ̣ηρί[ας ?καὶ νείκας καὶ αἰωνίας
δια]μονᾶ[ς . . . ? . .]ς τὸ ἄγ̣[α]λ̣μα τῶ Διὸς Σ̣[. . ? . .] ἐκ τῶν̣ ἰδί[ων
τᾶι γλυ]κυτάται πατρ[ίδι ?ἔδω]κεν κ[αὶ] ἀν[έθηκε]ν

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[11] Identical methods were used at Apamea by Bishop Marcellus, in the reign of Theodosius, to destroy the Temple of Jupiter "a building so firm and solid that to break up its closely compacted stones seemed beyond the power of man." Here the props were olive-wood and their combustion was impeded by a demon who had to be exorcised. After this was done they burned rapidly and "when their support had vanished the columns themselves fell down and dragged another twelve with them . . . The crash which was tremendous was heard throughout the town, and all ran to see the sight." Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, V.21.

[12] Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 92 ff. = *AE* 1954, no. 42.

[13] Cyrene Photographic Archive, nos. F. 3776–3779.

NOTES

1. The date is between 185, when Commodus took the title Felix, and his death in 192.

2. In the restoration given above some variety is possible in the formulae used to honour the emperor and to conclude the text; but the only serious uncertainty arises over the interpretation of the Σ after Διός. The fragment with ΔΙΟΣΣ̣ could convincingly be joined to another with Σ̣ΥΝ; Pesce, however, associated one with ΤΗΡΙ to make Διὸς Σ[ω]τηρί[ω . . ., suggesting that ΣΥΝ was part of the phrase καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτω καὶ δάμω Ῥωμαίων which might appear after διαμονᾶς, as in the inscription from the pronaos (see p. 31 above). This, in our view, would lengthen the text impossibly; and we have preferred to assign ΤΗΡΙ to σωτηρίας in the opening formula. It may well be that Zeus was given no cult-title, his name being followed immediately by an account of other items paid for by the donors of the statue. A form of words here that would use some otherwise unexplained fragments of the text would be:

. . .]ς τὸ ἄγ[α]λμα τῶ Διὸς σὺν τοῖ π[ερὶ τ]ὴν [β]άσιν̣ [κόσμοι . . .

But there remains the possibility, which we cannot quite rule out, that the cult title was Σεβαστός, cf. Jupiter Augustus on the architraves of the East Front and the Pronaos (below, pp. 36, 38).

3. Among the remaining fragments a number of names can be detected and these must have filled the greater part, if not all, of the space still available:—

(*a*) three contiguous fragments give ΝΔΡΟΣΚ, taken by Pesce to be part of the name Μένανδρος, although other names with the same ending, e.g., Ἀλέξανδρος cannot be excluded. The name may have been preceded by the fragment with ΤΙ $\overline{\text{ΚΛ}}$=Τι(βερι—) Κλ(αυδι—). The Κ that succeeds it could be the initial of the patronymic (but it is not the initial of Κλ(αυδίου), since there is no superscript bar), or of the word καί. In any case the name . . . α]νδρος, which is in the nominative case, must be that of the donor and/or dedicator (see also under *b*).

(*b*) a fragment with $\overline{\text{ΚΛ}}$ Φ could perhaps be taken with another giving Ι̣ΙΛΛΑΑ to make Κλ(αυδία) Φ[αυ]νίλλα Α[. . ., the final Α being the initial either of the lady's father or husband or of a title, e.g., ἀρχιέρεια. For a Claudia Phaunilla prominent in Cyrene in the late second or early third century see *SEG*, ix, 176, l. 22. The latter fragment was mis-read by Pesce who thought that it might be from the name of Commodus' sister Lucilla in the genitive Λου]κίλλας; the letter before Ι is certainly not Κ nor is the final letter Σ. Whether or not it is to be taken with $\overline{\text{ΚΛ}}$ Φ it apparently gives part of a feminine name in the nominative case, and this creates a certain difficulty as one verb at any rate is in the singular (see also under *a* and *c*).

(*c*) two contiguous fragments giving $\overline{\text{ΚΛ}}$ ΙΑΣΟΝ are perhaps to be taken with a third, non-contiguous, to make $\overline{\text{ΚΛ}}$ ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ—Κλ(αυδίου)Ἰάσονος. The genitive case may indicate that Jason was the father of . . . α]νδρος or the father or husband of . . .]ιλλα; or that the dedication was made while he was eponymous priest at Cyrene. It may be that he should be identified with Ti. Claudius Jason Magnus, recorded as priest of Apollo in a year between 176 and 180, *SEG*, ix, 172, who is known also from a number of other Cyrenaean inscriptions.

4. There remain some unexplained groups of letters—ΟΙΚΛ, ΝΑΑ, ΟΝ; and a number of isolated letters that it would be useless to print.

C. *The Inscriptions on the Architrave of the Pronaos*, (fig. 1)

During Pesce's excavation of the eastern front of the Temple there were found, fallen forward on to the floor of the east portico, three inscribed blocks[14] which had constituted the architrave of the entrance to the pronaos. Both Greek and Latin alphabets appear on these, and Pesce assumed that the inscription was a single bilingual text recording the dedication to Jupiter that followed the Antonine reconstruction, to which he also attributed the 'reeded' columns ('colonne a superficie baccellata')[15] which form the entrances to both pronaos and opisthodomos. He read the text as a dedication in Latin, *O*(*ptimo*) *S*(*anctissimo*) *Ioui Augusto*, followed, in Greek, by the name of an unidentified person, L. Vitellius Pius, and of a proconsul Attalus. His handling of the text was rightly criticised by Bingen, *loc. cit.*, who, on the basis of the photographs published by Pesce, suggested tentatively a restoration of the text giving a proconsul L. Vit(ellius?) son of Publius, and a priest Attalus. Apart from the fact that the form of the dedication would be unparalleled, these reconstructions are unlikely in any case, since bilingual inscriptions at Cyrene normally repeat in the second language the text or substance of the first.

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[14] Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 95 ff. = *AE* 1954, no. 44, cf. Bingen, *Chron. d'Egypte*, 55 (1953), p. 186.

[15] Pesce, *Gr. T.*, pp. 331–332.

As Bingen was aware, only a re-examination of the stone could solve the problems involved. Such re-examination shows that the Latin and Greek texts are separate, the Latin being earlier and superseded by the Greek; and some of the letters interpreted by Pesce and Bingen as part of the Greek text are in fact Latin and irrelevant to it.

The Latin text appears on the central architrave block only, and this is clearly a survival from the pre-Antonine building. The stone is of a different quality from that of the two blocks that flank it; and it retains for part of its length the regulae and guttae of the Doric entablature which were cut on it, whereas the flanking blocks never had these. It thus resembles the architrave blocks of the external front and is likely to belong to the same reconstruction as they do. The first line of the Latin text cut on it includes a duplicate of the dedication on the external front, and it is very probable that, when complete, it repeated the whole of the external text, adding a second line with a reference to the city of Cyrene. During the Antonine reconstruction the two side blocks of the architrave, which had perhaps been damaged in the Jewish Revolt, were replaced by new stones and a Greek text was carved on these which extended also across the vacant left hand margin of the old central block. It did not quite align with what remained of the second line of the Latin text, but Pesce, failing to notice this, conflated it with that second line, and it is in this false conflation that the non-existent L. Vitellius Pius had his origin.

It may also be noted here that since the earlier central block of the pronaos architrave had evidently survived the Jewish Revolt, it is to be assumed that the two 'reeded' columns supporting it were also survivors, and belong to an earlier reconstruction than the Antonine one to which Pesce attributed them. From the purely architectural viewpoint it would have been difficult to accept so late a date for a style of Hellenistic inspiration, although it might well be encountered in the earlier Empire.

The two texts may be transcribed as follows, their precise juxtaposition being shown in the accompanying drawing (fig. 1) :—

A. *Latin Text*

[...... *c.* 19......]O[. .]S[. .]VI AVGVS[......*c.*15......]
[...... *c.* 19......] *v.* CIVIT[......*c.*15......]

This may be partially, and to some extent conjecturally, restored:

[...... *c.* 17.... pr]o[co(n)]s(ul) [Io]ui Augus[to ?dedicauit]
[...... *c.* 19....] *v.* ciuit[a- Cyrenensium]

1. The date and significance of the text are discussed more fully in connexion with the inscription on the external architrave (see p. 38).

2. Between the O and the S in l. 1 is a rectangular cutaway which has removed the surface of the stone, for approximately the area of two letters. There is, therefore, no evidence for Pesce's assumption that there was a space after O.

3. If the restoration was paid for out of civic funds the second line might have read something like:

[e pecunia publica] ciuit[as Cyrenensium]

If private benefaction was involved, the space to the left will have been occupied by the name of the donor, that to the right by the words ciuit[ati Cyrenensium].

B. *Greek Text*

[.]ΑΙ̣ ΑΦ[. .]ΡΩΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΩ ΚΡΑ v. ΤΙ [. .]Ω ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ Κ̣̅Λ̅
ΑΤΤΑΛΩ
[κ]αὶ̣ ἀφ[ιε]ρώσαντος τῶ κρατί[στ]ω ἀνθυπάτω Κ̣λ(αυδίω)
Ἀττάλω

1. The style of the lettering is very like that of the Antonine inscription above the entrance to the cella and the two texts may reasonably be regarded as contemporary.

2. There is space for one letter only before the first A in l. 1 and again after it for one only, which, from the slight surviving traces, seems to have been I. No word other than *καί* seems to fit the requirements, and this should imply that the text is a continuation of one begun elsewhere. Since it is unlikely that an inscription ran round the outside wall of the cella, there is a strong probability that the beginning is to be found in the text on the wall above the entrance to the cella (above, p. 31). If so, it is singular that the reader would see the end before the beginning; but it can only be said that the whole layout is as poorly planned as it could be. An alternative explanation—just possible with such inept workmen—, is that AỊ represents an abandoned attempt at AΦ, the first letters of ἀφιερώσαντος, the cutter trusting to the rubrication of the second attempt to distinguish it from the failure (see also note 3).

3. The lapicide evidently split the word κρατίστω so as not to superimpose it on the earlier *civit* . . . . It is strange that he did not prefer to cancel the latter by erasure; but it must be remembered that the vividly rubricated letters of the new inscription would have stood out in antiquity more clearly than they do today, and that there would, therefore, be less danger of confusion.

4. Ἀττάλω is in the central position and there is no trace of any word inscribed on either side of it. The proconsul may possibly be identified with Claudius Attalus *PIR*² C 795, governor of Thrace in the early years of Commodus' sole reign. For his full name—Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus—see Mitford, *JRS*, xxix (1939), p. 190 and *PBSA*, xlii (1947), p. 230.

D. *The External Inscription on the East Front*

The fourth and last of the inscriptions to be considered here is cut in monumental characters 60 centimetres high on the massive architrave blocks of the east front of the peristasis.[16] When the columns of the latter were overturned by the Jewish rebels and fell outwards, the architrave fell with them and came to rest some distance east of the temple podium, with the inscribed face downwards. Unfortunately, much of this fallen stone, already fractured by the fall, was quarried by Italian troops in 1915, to build a nearby barrack-block (since demolished), and it is known that part of the inscription perished as a result.[17]

During the excavations of 1939–1942 Pesce encountered three surviving blocks of the original seven which had spanned the intercolumniations of the east front. These three were all found at the north end of the east front, and from their position relative to the fallen columns may be numbered as 5, 6 and 7. Despite this fact Pesce published them as though they had constituted a complete text which he read as *O(ptimo) S(anctissimo) Ioui August(o)*. It is clear, however, that they represent the end half of the original text, the beginning of which must logically have fallen in front of the south end of the east front of the podium, where stone-quarrying has been most intense. In 1955 the present writers were able to find, *in situ* as fallen, small fragments of blocks 2 and 4: the rest has evidently perished. The surviving text may be republished as follows:

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[16] Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 94 = *AE* 1954, no. 43.

[17] G. Oliverio, *Scavi di Cirene* (Bergamo, 1931), p. 14.

[.. *c.* 10..]S [.. *c.* 7..P]ROCOS IOVI AVGVST[O]
[.. *c.* 10..]s [.. *c.* 7..p]roco(n)s(ul) Ioui August[o]

NOTES

1. The date may be deduced from the following considerations:—

(*a*) Of the surviving stops two are ivy leaves; the third, after IOVI, is in the form of an *ampulla*. An *ampulla* appears as a stop in one other Cyrenaean inscription, a text on the south propylaeum of the Caesareum referring to M. Sufenas Proculus, who was active in Cyrene in the last decade of the reign of Augustus, see below, p. 160.

(*b*) The strokes of the letters are cut very broad and shallow, in a style recalling that of the inscription on the east propylaeum of the Caesareum (see below p. 160) datable from a reference to the proconsulate of C. Rubellius Blandus, and not later than his consulate in A.D. 18. This style of lettering has not, so far, been found in any Cyrenaean inscription that can be placed after the reign of Tiberius.

NB.—Pesce's view that the letters were inlaid with bronze may be discounted, since there are no traces of the cramp-holes normally associated with inlaid metal letters.

2. It is perhaps worthy of note that in the course of this rebuilding and rededication of the temple, the Greek Zeus seems to have been transformed into Jupiter Augustus. The transformation is all the more remarkable in that Jupiter Augustus does not appear to be otherwise attested in official documents at this date. For this point we are indebted to Dr. S. Weinstock.

The importance of this text lies in its date which is certainly of the early first century A.D. It is, therefore, to be presumed that a reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus, not suspected by previous excavators, took place under Augustus or Tiberius. To this reconstruction doubtless belong the 'reeded' columns of pronaos and opisthodomos which, as we have already seen, are most unlikely to belong to the Antonine reconstruction to which Pesce assigned them.

The character and extent of this early Roman reconstruction cannot be determined with precision, nor are there any grounds for assuming it to have been necessitated by any calamity, man-made or natural. Owing to the poor quality of the local limestone used in the buildings of Cyrene, periodic reconstruction was a continual necessity.[18] Very probably the monuments of the city had been neglected in the last century B.C., and it fell to Augustus or his successor to initiate large-scale repairs.

It is unlikely that the name of the proconsul concerned would have been displayed so prominently had his repair-work been confined to mere patching. Indeed the east front of the podium, as Pesce observed, had been entirely refaced at the same time that a narrow asymmetrical flight of steps was added. This refacing extends to the stylobate of some of the columns, and is of such character that the original columns could hardly have been left standing while it was carried out. We may, therefore, be tempted to assume that the entire east front, with its columns and entablature, was rebuilt at the time of the inscription. How many of the other columns of the peristasis were rebuilt is uncertain, but it is surely significant that the undersides of the fallen columns normally have their original fluting almost intact, which could hardly have been the case had they been exposed to the elements over a period of five centuries.

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[18] The effect of wind and rain erosion on the standing walls and columns can be assessed from the marked deterioration which has taken place in buildings excavated and restored only a quarter-century ago.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that, at the time of its Augustan or Tiberian reconstruction, the Temple of Zeus was already in an advanced state of disrepair, such as to necessitate extensive rebuilding of the peristasis. The podium itself displays this disrepair very strikingly at the south-east corner where the hard stone of the Augustan refacing contrasts with the decayed steps of the original building.

How much of the pre-Roman building survives? Without highly detailed architectural studies this question cannot easily be answered; and indeed the conservatism of the rebuilders may make it almost impossible to distinguish between old and new.

E. *The Last Days of the Temple*

The Commodan inscription on the base of the cult-statue is the last dated inscription bearing on the history of the Temple. The small marble slab with a dedication to Zeus Olympios by the architect Aurelius Rufus was assigned by Oliverio, on the basis of its letter-forms, to the third century A.D., and Pesce accepted this view.[19] But the evolution of letter-forms at Cyrene followed no rigid pattern, and the palaeography of Antonine inscriptions there presents great variety. Guidi was probably right in assuming that Rufus had been responsible for the Antonine remodelling of the Temple. Thus, for the history of the Temple after Commodus we have no direct textual evidence, and no archaeological evidence except as regards the manner in which the great building met its end.

We have already demonstrated that the fall of the peristasis was due to deliberate undermining in the Jewish Revolt, and not to a second-century earthquake as conjectured by Pesce. On the other hand, the columns of pronaos and opisthodomos certainly fell as the result of an earth-tremor, since there are no signs of the undercutting of their bases whilst their direction of fall—eastward—was uniform.

That a great earthquake occurred at Cyrene in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. has long been known from Synesius, and from a painted Christian tomb-inscription (undated) recording some of its victims.[20] The excavation of the Great Baths by the Italians produced clear traces of this disaster which had caused the collapse of the vaults, thus sealing beneath the debris the remarkable series of complete statues found during that exploration.[21] Indeed, there are very few buildings in Cyrene which do not present some traces of the disaster. The coin evidence from recent excavations, though not entirely conclusive, is consistent with a date *c.* A.D. 365 for this earthquake; and this agrees with the testimony of

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[19] P. 60, below. G. Oliverio, *op. cit.*, p. 13: Pesce, *Gr. T.*, p. 353 n. 2. For the post-Commodan repairs conjectured by Pesce we have observed no convincing evidence.

[20] Synesius, *Epp.* 58 and 67; Comparetti, *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeol. di Atene*, i (1914), p. 161 ff.

[21] *Notiz. Arch.* ii (1916), p. 13.

Ammianus[22] that in that year the whole ancient world was shaken, and ships were washed on to the roof tops of Alexandria by the tidal wave that followed.

Yet, whilst the earthquake doubtless contributed largely to the final destruction of the Temple, the present condition of the building and of the cult-objects found within it testifies to a damage too radical to be attributed to a natural cause alone. Smith and Porcher, who were the first to uncover the cella, stated that 'the appearance of the remains clearly showed that the temple had been wantonly destroyed by the hand of man' : they were persuaded that 'there was no hope of finding anything not destroyed.' Guidi, in 1926, was more fortunate in finding the famous head of Zeus, but this fine work of art had to be pieced together from over a hundred small fragments.

It is still possible today to observe how, within the cella, the yellow limestone walls have been scorched red by fierce and prolonged burning. The columns of cipollino marble, originally some 5 m. in height, have been reduced to fragments rarely more than 50 cm. long. Most of the sculpture found in the Temple is heavily burned, and of the Antonine cult-statue only the fingers and toes are sufficiently intact to be immediately recognisable.

This destruction is infinitely more radical than that, for example, sustained by the earthquake-ruined Great Baths; and even if the roof of the Temple had been completely of timber, its burning could hardly have produced the results which we have described. Thus, we are forced to conclude, with Smith and Porcher, that a deliberate destruction of the Temple and its contents took place, either preceding or following the damage sustained during the earthquake of 365. Such destruction may reasonably be attributed to the conflicts between paganism and Christianity, which were particularly acute in the Levant.

That the triumphant Christians deliberately slighted the surviving monuments of paganism is proved, at Cyrene, by recent excavations in other parts of the city. During 1956–1957 a group of three adjacent temples was uncovered in the Valley Street adjoining the 'Casa Parisi' museum. Two of them had been deliberately stripped of their fittings and burned out, after which a blocking wall was built across their fronts. Fragments of the cult statues were found in a well sealed by the overturned walls. Only the third temple remained in use, but it had been modified internally to serve some non-religious function. It seems, therefore, justifiable to suppose that in the case of those temples which could not be adapted to serve some non-pagan function, a form of purification by burning was adopted by the Christian community. Not unnaturally the Temple of Zeus was the major victim of this triumph of the new religion in Cyrene. The Christian Cathedral which succeeded it was constructed on a different site, conveniently situated beside the Valley Street.

F. *General Conclusions*

In the course of our re-study of the evidence for the history of the Temple of Zeus, we have necessarily had to abandon a strictly chronological analysis. It may therefore be useful to summarise our conclusions in chronological sequence.

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[22] Ammianus, xxvi.10.15 ff. Cf. N. Putorti. 'Di un titolo termale scoperto in Reggio Calabria,' *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, xxi (1912), 791–802.

(1) As regards the initial date of construction of the Temple we have no new evidence to offer. On the basis of purely architectural analysis, various dates between 540 and about 430 B.C. have been proposed by Pesce, Dinsmoor and Chamoux.[23] It should, perhaps, be borne in mind that three coins of the late fourth century B.C. were found by Pesce[24] beneath the pavement of the north portico, and that a structure built of such soft materials is unlikely to have been standing for more than three centuries before the first attested reconstruction in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius. Cyrenaean conservatism may imperil arguments based solely on typological considerations.[25]

(2) It is now clear that the Temple was repaired under Augustus or Tiberius by a proconsul who cannot be identified, but whose work was sufficiently extensive to justify the bold appearance of his name on the eastern front of the building. This reconstruction involved the provision of new columns on at least the east side of the peristasis, together with modifications to the columns of the pronaos and opisthodomos. None the less the building, both externally and internally, retained its traditional Doric character.

(3) During the Jewish Revolt the peristasis was overthrown, and severe damage must also have been suffered by the rest of the building. The cella was remodelled under Marcus (172–175) and the new colossal cult-statue, which may well have been a full-scale replica of the Zeus of Olympia, was dedicated under Commodus (185–192). No attempt was made to re-erect the peristasis, and some of the fallen columns were dismantled and their drums recut to serve in other buildings of the city.

(4) An earthquake (presumably that of A.D. 365) severely damaged the building, and in the same period—possibly before, but more probably after it—the remains of the Temple were slighted by Christians, who broke up the cult-statues and threw most of the wreckage on to great fires which blazed throughout the cella.

R. G. GOODCHILD AND J. M. REYNOLDS

PART II. THE CULT-STATUE[1]

It has been shown above how the Temple of Zeus was ingeniously demolished by the Jewish rebels in A.D. 115, and how it was given a new existence during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. A new existence: for although the

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[23] Pesce, *Gr. T.*, p. 347; Doc., p. 118, n. 1; Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1950), p. 86; Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953), p. 325 ff.

[24] Pesce, *Doc.*, pp. 117–118.

[25] The only epigraphic evidence seemingly related to the structure of the pre-Roman temple consists of a series of masons' marks roughly carved on the hidden surfaces of building blocks. These normally begin with the letters EΔE and are followed by various letters and symbols. There appears to us to be nothing in these to provide a criterion for their date.

[1] I undertook this study as a member of the University of Manchester Expedition to Cyrene in 1955. My warmest thanks are due to that University, and above all to Mr. Alan Rowe, the leader of the expedition. I also wish to thank Mr. G. M. Tarris for taking many photographs and for valuable help in making the plan; Mr. W. B. Butler, Mrs. S. R. Tomlin and Mr. David Dickens, who helped to prepare the drawings for publication; and the Director of the British School at Rome, who, besides taking new photographs for Plates V, *b*, and VII, *a*, *b*, *c*, has spared no pains to improve the text and illustrations as a whole.

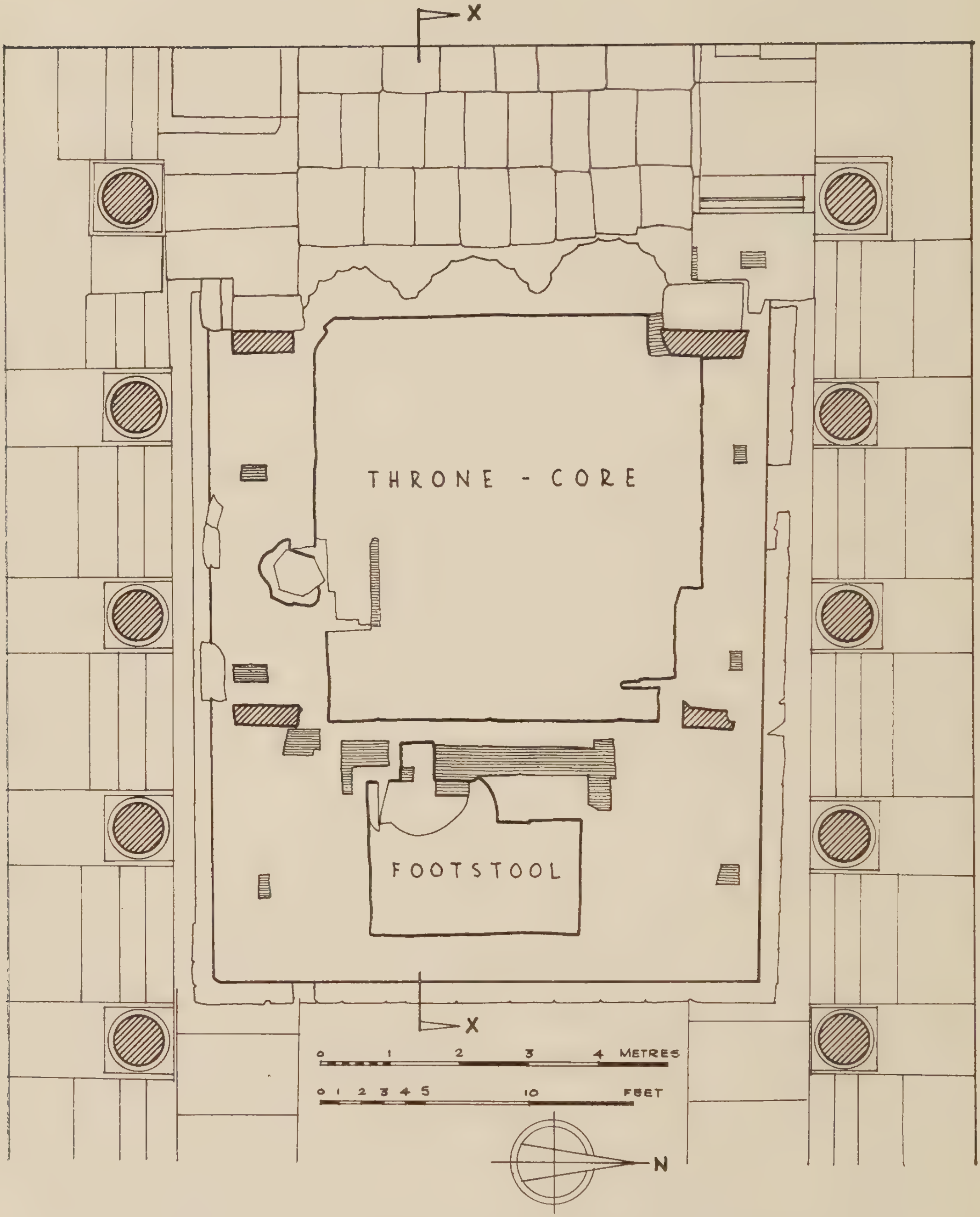
X
THRONE - CORE
FOOTSTOOL
X
0 1 2 3 4 METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET
N

Fig. 2. West End of the Cella (For details of Base, see Fig. 3)

late-second-century builders re-used the core of the Greek temple, the cella and its porches at either end, they aimed at utterly different architectural effects. To the builders of the original temple the exterior, with its columnar vistas, counted quite as much as the interior; and in both they relied not on the texture of the stone (the shelly local limestone is a somewhat uncouth material), but on the organisation of great masses in the purest Doric style, strong, definite, and alert. The Antonine builders had other things to say. They laid their emphasis on the interior, where the walls were to shimmer with varied marble, and ornate Corinthian columns to do their best to distract the attention from the weight of the roof. The crown of this work was the seated colossus of Zeus, which filled the western third of the cella. It was the last thing to be completed (as the inscriptions have shown: in A.D. 185–192), because it was largely composed of timber and plaster, so that it could not be installed until the building was covered; but the whole interior was designed round it from the first.

Of this colossus there survive (*a*) the base-platform, with the footstool and the core of the throne, (*b*) marble fragments of the fingers and toes, (*c*) badly mutilated marble fragments of the torso and arms, (*d*) small pieces of cedar-wood, and some nails, from the timberwork of the throne, (*e*) some powdery plaster, which probably comes from the drapery.

A general description of these remains—except (*d*) and (*e*)—was given by Dr. G. Pesce in his two fundamental papers on the Temple of Zeus.[2] My purpose here is first to supplement his work with a detailed account and illustrations, and second, to draw some conclusions about the original appearance of the statue. The task is, I believe, worth undertaking not just for the statue's own sake—though its scale, at least, is awe-inspiring—but because the suggestion has been made that it may tell something new of a greater work: the lost Olympian Zeus of Pheidias. This latter problem is treated quite separately, in the last section.

1. *The Present State of the Base*

The base is built of the same stone as the rest of the temple: the local fossiliferous limestone, which is easily worked, but becomes pock-marked and ruinous with even moderate exposure. And here not only exposure has been at work, but subsidence also, and a fierce fire, which has reddened and crumbled the surface in many places. Thus clear-cut edges are rare, and the difficulties of making accurate measurements or intelligible photographs considerable. The block-by-block plan (fig. 3), the section (fig. 4), and the photographs give as accurate a record as possible: but these are best approached by way of the sketch in fig. 5*a*, which offers a simplified general view of the west end of the cella, from the south-east.

Along the north and south sides of the base are seen a row of short, low walls, projecting at right angles from the side-walls of the cella; these carried the Corinthian interior columns. The base itself consists of three main elements: the rectangular platform (Pesce's 'Podio,' *Gr. T.*, p. 338) supporting the whole; the

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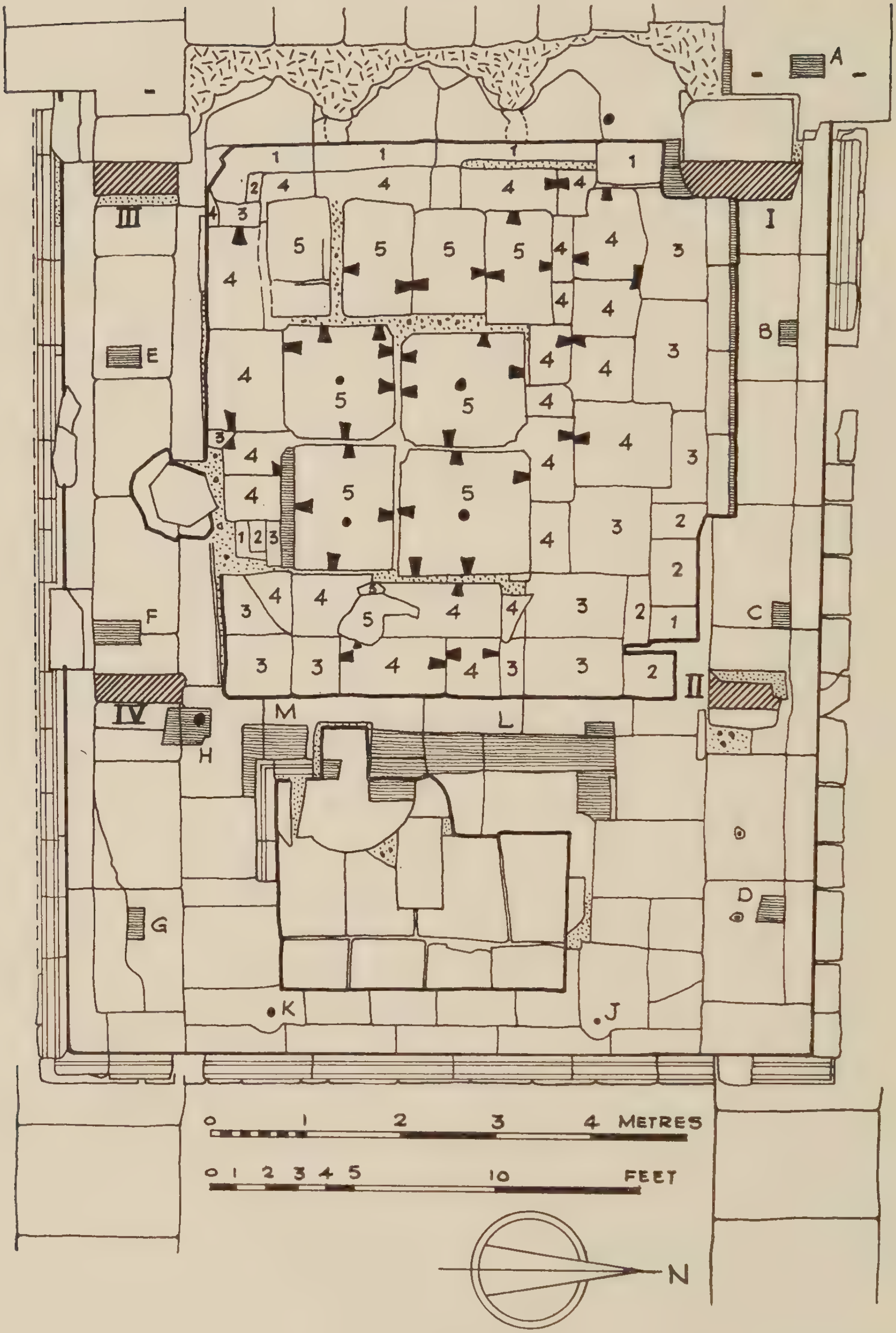
[2] *B.C.H.*, lxxi–lxxii (1947–1948), pp. 307–358, especially pp. 338–341, for the platform, footstool, and throne; *Bull. Soc. Roy. d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, no. 39 (1951), pp. 83–129, for the marble fragments of the statue, and the inscriptions. Abbreviations as in Part I, note 3.


A
B
C
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I
II
III
IV
J
K
L
M
1
2
3
4
5
0 1 2 3 4 METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 FEET
N

Fig. 3.

massive throne-core (Pesce's 'Dado,' l.c.); and the footstool (Pesce's 'Predella,' p. 339). Against the south flank of the throne-core is a curious irregular pillar called by Pesce the 'Pilastrino,' a name which I retain. Finally, the platform in its present state consists of a slightly lowered central area with 'flank-walls' (Pesce's 'Ali' or 'Fiancate,' p. 338) bordering it to north and south.

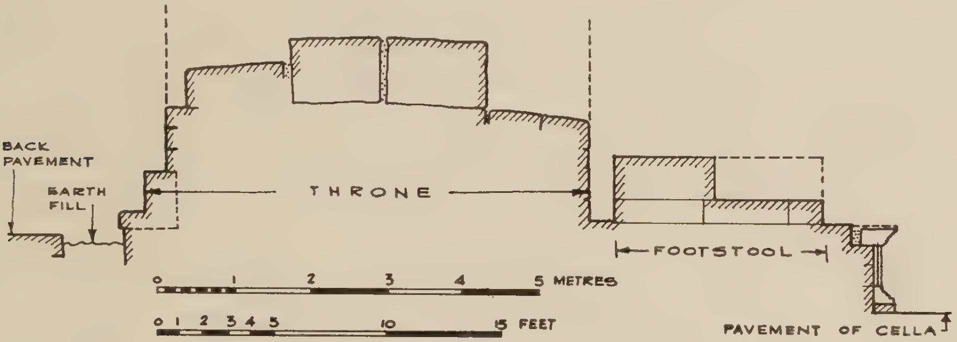

Fig. 4. Section through XX of Fig. 2

The 'Flank-walls.' It is here, perhaps, that the most significant additions can be made to Pesce's account. As he showed, the cella originally contained a double Doric colonnade, dividing it into a nave and two aisles;[3] the line of the two stereobates[4] can still be seen on the cella floor, although the Antonine rebuilders lowered them, with the rest of the floor, by more than a metre. The Corinthian colonnade which they substituted was much nearer the side-walls. Now, Pesce seems to have noticed, but does not make very clear, that the 'flank-walls' are no other than lengths of the original[5] Doric stereobate, left standing to the height of the earlier floor, and merely cut back about 50 cm. on their north and south sides respectively in order to allow a narrow passage between the base (of which they now form part) and the Corinthian colonnade.[6]

The Roman builders thus thriftily adapted the western third of the Greek stereobates for the flanks of their statue-base, and built up the remainder in the space between them. Unfortunately they did not, as the Greeks had done, found their structure on the living rock below,[7] but merely on a layer of column-drums taken probably from the fallen outer colonnade; at least this is what they did at the western end, the only place where the foundations are visible. As a result, not only was the central area—which bore the weight of the whole statue—unstable from the start, but it has since subsided in relation to the flank-walls, as can clearly be seen in fig. 5*a* and pl. V, *a*, *b*. This subsidence is negligible at the western end; just east of the Pilastrino it begins in earnest, making the surface of the central area in places as much as 25 cm. lower than the top surface of the flank-walls. But if we are to understand the intentions of the builders, we must remember that the central area and the flank-walls were at first flush with each other,[8] the structural difference between them being masked entirely by a shining veneer of marble (fig. 5*b*).

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[3] *Gr. T.*, pp. 326, 333–334. Cf. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades* (1953), p. 320 ff.

[4] 'Stereobate' is a notoriously ambiguous term, but it has proved the most convenient for the present purpose. I use it here exclusively in the sense 'a solid mass of masonry serving as a base for a row of columns' (cf. the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. .)

[5] Perhaps 'pre-115' would be safer, but all the chances are that the stereobate belonged to the temple from the first.

[6] Cf. Pesce, *Gr. T.*, pp. 317–318. There are two reasons for thinking that the flank-walls are part of the Greek stereobate: (*a*), close examination of their western ends showed that they are an integral part of the two thick walls which join them on the west; and these, in turn, correspond exactly in alignment and breadth to the traces of the stereobates on the cella floor, (*b*), the east-to-west measurements of the blocks of the flank-walls equal those of the stereobate-blocks on the cella floor.

[7] See Pesce, *Gr. T.*, pl. LIX, a.

The flank-walls carried a number of slots and cuttings, unmentioned by Pesce. The less obvious series consists of seven shallow rectangular cuttings which are spaced evenly along the flank-walls; they are lettered A to G on the plan (fig. 3). Those on the north flank-wall have been partly cut away by the ledge made to receive the marble top cornice, and for this reason the series cannot be associated with the present base, at least in its finished state.[9]

On the other hand, the great deep slots numbered I to IV on the plan[10] certainly belong to the statue. They are the sockets which received the legs of a timber throne—a purely ornamental throne, of course, for the weight of the colossus was actually borne by the solid stone core.

This conclusion was at once suggested by the size of the four slots, and by their situation at the four corners of the throne-core; but fortunately it was possible to check it by a practical test. When I saw the base (September, 1955), three of the slots had evidently long been dug out, but Slot III was still covered by a hard cement-like crust which scarcely differed from the surrounding surface. The crust broke up instantly under the trowel, for it was composed only of hardened plaster mixed with earth. Most of the slot was filled by a very fine yellowish-white powder, evidently disintegrated plaster, for there were occasional compact lumps of the same substance. Embedded in this were one iron clamp and pieces of at least fifteen large iron nails.[11] Besides the iron objects there were also embedded in the powder many shapeless fragments of white marble, all terribly burned and, in some cases, powdering away at a touch; a rounded fragment of greenish marble, almost certainly from one of the neighbouring Corinthian columns; two shapeless fragments of gritty dark grey pottery; half a dozen fragments of thick reddish pottery, with no perceptible curve but in some cases remains of a rim. The bottom 5 to 10 cm. of the slot contained not powder, but a layer of charred wood, resting on,

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[8] Two facts will suffice to prove this. First, Cutting H—which quite plainly forms a single cutting—straddles the juncture of the central area and the southern flank-wall; the two halves must originally have been on a level, but the one is now 23 cm. below the other. Second, the ledge which carried the marble top-cornice of the platform suddenly dips about 25 cm. when it reaches the central sector of the east front.

[9] Possible explanations: *either* (*a*) the cuttings were made to receive scaffold-posts used during the erection of the statute—but, if so, why has Cutting A no mate on the opposite flank? *Or* (*b*) the cuttings date from an earlier period than the Antonine reconstruction, when the Doric colonnades still ran along the interior stereobates. Could they be emplacements for intercolumnar statue-bases or barrier-posts? If so, there were nine columns in each file of the original Doric colonnade, with a mean interaxial spacing of 2.97 m.

[10] *Slot* I, length (max. possible), 125 cm.; width, 37 cm.; depth, 40 cm. *Slot* II, original length, 78 cm.; width, 42 cm.; these reduced by ancient concrete filling to 73 by 28 cm.; depth 32 cm. *Slot* III, length, 88 (?) cm.; width, 35 cm.; depth, 38 cm. *Slot* IV, length not preserved because of breakage of flank-wall; width, 29 cm.; depth, 38 cm.

[11] The clamp is of ┌──┐ shape; charred timber sticks to many of the nails. I am most grateful to Dr. J. D. Bu'lock, of the Department of Chemistry, Manchester University, for his detailed examination of these and other objects found in the slot.

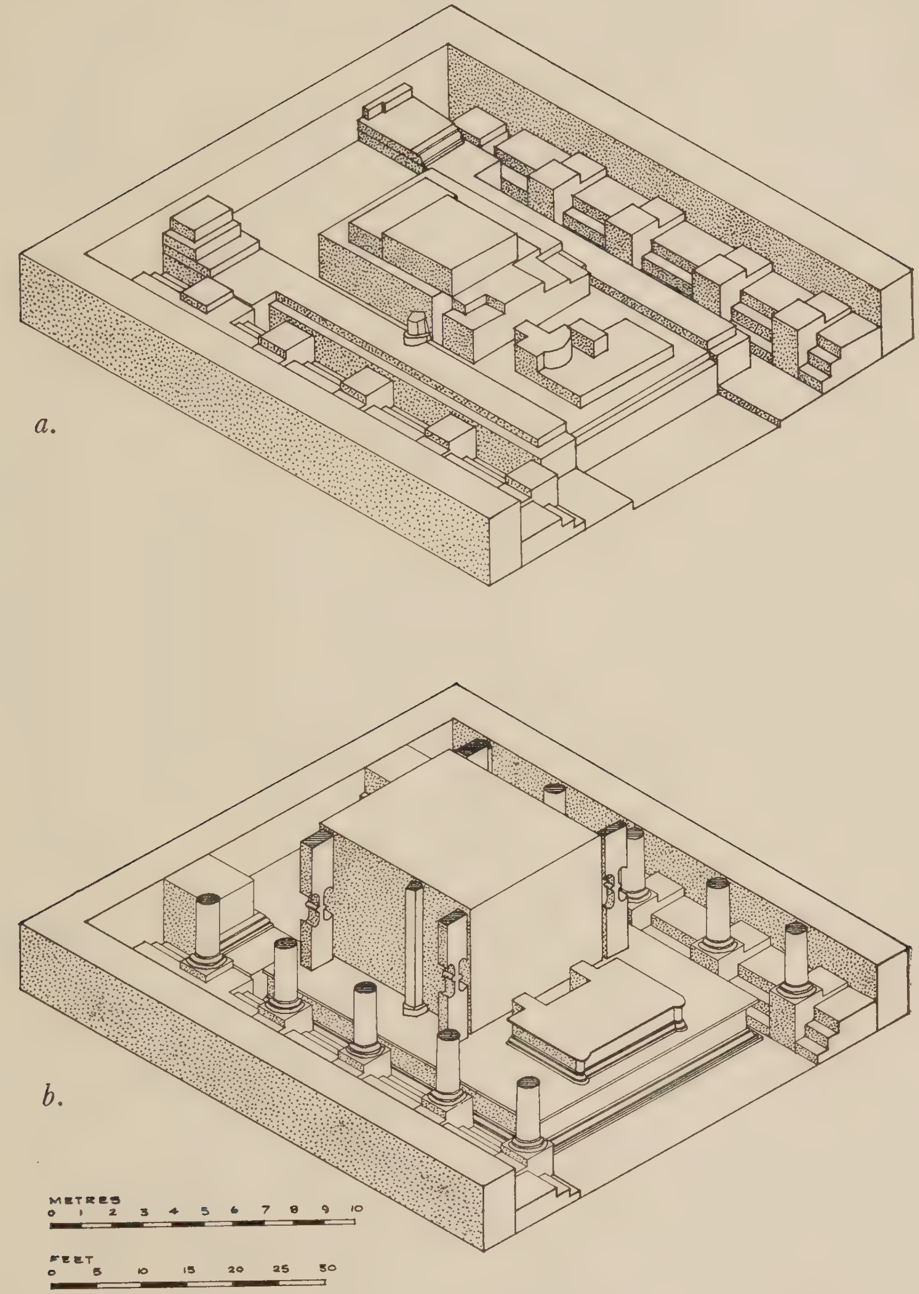
a.
b.
METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
FEET
0 5 10 15 20 25 30

Fig. 5. West End of the Cella. *a.* Simplified General View, from the South-East. *b.* Restored View of the Same

and in places adhering to, a thin sheet of partly-melted lead, which covered the slot-floor. Specimens of this wood were kindly examined by Dr. Metcalfe of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, and were pronounced by him to be cedar-wood.

The slots, therefore, certainly contained wooden uprights,[12] which from their position can only have been the legs of the throne; a piece of evidence that radically alters any previous ideas of its appearance and dimensions. The other objects found in the slot must all have fallen into it at a late stage in the fire, or have been swept in not long afterwards. The nails will have come from the timber superstructure, the white marble either from the flesh-parts of the acrolithic statue itself or from the revetment of the throne-core, the plaster probably from the hair or drapery. The leaden sheath at the base of the slot will have been intended to protect the timber from rotting. The pottery-fragments cannot be certainly interpreted; the reddish ones might be from roof-tiles, or all might come from pottery-filled rubble, such as is used to fill the wider gaps in the masonry of this structure.

The Central Area of the Platform, and the Footstool. The central area of the platform is paved with rectangular slabs of varying dimensions, and has suffered, as we have seen, from subsidence. The contrast with the regular, steady masonry of the flank-walls is striking: the Greeks built their work to be seen and to last; the second-century structure is a cheap job, reckoning on the marble veneer to cover its faults.

Close to the south-east corner of the throne-core is a rectangular cutting (H on the plan) which straddles the juncture of the flank-wall and the central area. Its maximum dimensions are 39 by 40 cm., its depth 11 cm. In its floor is a circular hole. The position of Cutting H, which is our only guide to its purpose, suggests that it may have received a sceptre, or a prop for the statue's right arm—preferably the latter, since one would expect the butt-end of a sceptre to be circular, not square.

The footstool is only partially preserved. It may have stood higher than it now does, for only three blocks of its second course survive, and their surfaces do not tell whether or not there were further courses above. Even the bottom course lacks some blocks, both on the north and on the west sides, though the original plan can still be recovered as follows. On the east edge of the platform will be noticed two semicircular projections, each with a dowel-hole (J and K on the plan) just behind it. These must surely be associated with the footstool, for K responds to the marble base-mould on the footstool's south flank, while the northern limb of the big floor-cutting L would, if produced, neatly hit J. Cutting L, therefore, may reasonably be supposed to reproduce the line of the north flank of the footstool.[13]

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[12] That there was timber in the other, now empty, slots is indicated by the marked traces of fire round their lips, especially those of Slots I and II.

[13] It will be noticed that this cutting indicates a projection at the north-west corner which does not correspond with the surviving arrangements at the south-west. But we have to allow for second thoughts by the builders after the cutting was made; there was, in fact, some hesitation at the south-west itself, as is shown by the cutting M and by the treatment of the block of the southern base-mould, which has been very roughly improvised into an angle-piece at its western end, to join the block which runs in from the re-entrant (see plan). These facts suggest that originally there was to have been no re-entrant at this point, but that the south flank was to have run on unbroken some 40 cm. further westwards than it now does.

The two dowel-holes J and K, with their associated projections, further show that the two front corners of the footstool were adorned with upright objects of roughly circular section: miniature columns, perhaps, or lion-leg supports (cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, p. 73), or regularly turned legs with a downward taper. The first is the most likely, since the other two would march ill with the marble base-mould, which ran along the front as well as along both flanks.[14]

Finally, it must be noted that the footstool is not placed quite centrally: dowel-hole J is 1.15 m., dowel-hole K 92 cm., from the nearest points of their respective flank-walls. No deep significance should be sought in this; it is characteristic of our builder.

The Throne-core. This is an irregular square of unsound masonry, at present standing five courses high;[15] originally it must have reached something like double that height. The quartet of great square blocks on the top course are re-used drums, probably from the exterior colonnade, and such also occur in the lowest course along the back of the throne-core, and in the foundations below it. Large swallow-tail clamps of metal were used to bind the blocks together. These did not occur in the first three courses, but were used fairly often on the fourth and profusely on the fifth.

In this structure there are certain peculiarities which may tell something of its history. Mention has already been made of the three column-drums which appear in the foundations at the rear of the throne-core (see Plan, fig. 3, and Pesce's photograph, *Gr. T.*, p. 339). Between them and the back-pavement of the cella is simply earthen fill; on top of them rest three badly mutilated slabs about 20 cm. thick. Pesce argues that such elaborate foundations could hardly be intended to carry a mere pavement, and that therefore the throne-core must originally have extended further westwards, right over the column-drums. A reasonable argument in itself, but the facts are against it. First, the present back wall of the throne-core, apart from a slight set-back immediately above the bottom course, rises sheer and flush, disposing of any possibility that further masonry could have been bonded into it. And second, the broken slabs that overlay the column-drums are in one piece with, and cut down from, the blocks of the bottom course of the throne-core (see section, fig. 4). What would be the sense in cutting down the stones here, if they were to serve as the base for further courses above?

There can, then, be no doubt that the final back of the throne-core was the one visible today. The inordinately heavy foundations behind it, and the cutting down of the slabs, can best be accounted for by supposing a builder's error, put right at an early stage in construction.

The plan makes it clear that the north and south flanks of the throne-core do not correspond with one another. The north face, whose bottom course consists of a row of tall, narrow, 'orthostates,' actually overlaps the northern flank-wall;[16] the south face has no orthostates, and does not come near the southern flank-wall, except at the Pilastrino. When the statue stood complete, this asymmetry would, of course, have been screened from the spectator by the timber throne-legs projecting on either side. But even so, the difference in structure between the two flanks asks for an explanation.

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[14] The existence of a base-mould in front is shown by the row of cramp-holes along the east face of the bottom course.

[15] Height above platform-surface, 2.40 m. The courses are numbered on the plan.

[16] There are four orthostates now, with room for a fifth at the east end of the row.

The clue lies perhaps in the mysterious Pilastrino of the south flank. It now stands two courses high. Of the two blocks which compose the lower course, the inner is rectangular, and of the thickness of the orthostates on the north; it fits snugly in the space between the face of the throne-core and the edge of the flank-wall. Against it, and resting entirely on top of the flank-wall, is pressed the other block, whose outer face is an irregular semi-circle. The second course consists of a single hexagonal stone resting on the two; the side towards the throne-core is sunk in a mass of concrete, which fills a vertical rift in the throne-core masonry. Our last datum is the shallow slot which runs all along the south flank, between throne-core and flank-wall, continuing the line of the inner first-course block of the Pilastrino. This could neatly receive a row of orthostates similar to that on the north flank; yet we are discouraged from concluding that a southern row of orthostates existed, at least in the final state of the statue, by the traces of marble revetment on the present south face of the throne core.

A certain answer to the problems thus presented is not to be looked for, but the following sequence of events will at least account for all the data. When the statue was first completed the south flank of the throne-core had no pilastrino, but a series of orthostates answering those on the north.[17] At some time thereafter a serious collapse occurred on the south flank, caused either by some perilous weight on that side, or by the opening of the vertical rift near the (present) Pilastrino, or by both. The ancient restorers roughly plugged the rift with rubble and concrete, and removed the damaged orthostates—all but one, now the inner block of the first course of the Pilastrino, which they cut down *in situ* and re-used for its present purpose. The position of their Pilastrino suggests that they required special support just under the right elbow of the colossus. Finally, they restored the marble revetment, but this time on the face of the core left exposed by the removal of the orthostates.

The Marble Revetments. Much of the marble base-mould, some of the thin marble veneer, and a little of the cornice, are still to be seen, having been consolidated by the excavators Guidi and Pesce.[18] Even where the veneer itself has disappeared, its former presence is betrayed by the ancient plaster seating, which still exists at several points on the southward-facing surfaces—the side protected from the rain-bearing sea-winds of Cyrene. The marble employed is, except for one fragment, white; Parian, according to Pesce.

The platform was adorned with base-mould and cornice, and the vertical surface between the two was faced with thin slabs of marble (pl. VII, *a*; see also the section, fig. 4, at right). The base-mould, as will be seen from the plan, survives almost complete on the south and east sides. It rests in its turn on a low plinth formed of short limestone slabs, which can best be seen, denuded of their base-mould, along the north flank. Of the top cornice only four small pieces were replaced by Pesce, all on the south flank; but many other fragments survive, notably those from the east front which carried the dedicatory inscription, and are now in the Cyrene museum. The cornice-blocks sat on a shelf cut back from the top of the platform. Their upper surface was not intended to be seen, for it is rough-worked with a small punch; presumably, this surface (along with the swallow-tail clamps which bound block to block) was concealed by a thin sheet of marble, which was no doubt continued inwards to cover the rest of the horizontal platform-surface.

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[17] There would still have been a slight asymmetry, since the northern orthostates, as we have seen, overlap the north flank-wall, while the southern ones would not have done so. But the difference would only be a matter of a few centimetres.

[18] G. Guidi, *Africa Italiana* i, 1927, p. 5; Pesce, *Gr. T.*, pp. 312 and 340–341.

The footstool was likewise faced with marble, of which there remains a section of the base-mould at the south-west corner; while in the re-entrant angle adjacent there is a patch of veneer, partly in white, partly in green-and-white-veined marble. There were also clear traces of plaster seating for veneer on the west face of the small backward projection of the footstool. I cannot find any remains of a top cornice for the footstool, but such there must surely have been, for it would have looked very odd without one. And this builder was zealous for the superficial appearance of his work, whatever constructional weaknesses may have lurked beneath.

The throne-core had no base-mould (and so, presumably, no top cornice), but was, again, sheathed with thin slabs of marble. A fairly large patch (clearly to be seen in Pesce, *Gr. T.*, pl. LV.2) survives at the western end of the south flank; there is a small fragment just east of the Pilastrino, and many traces of the plaster seating elsewhere along the same flank. Both marble and seating are at the base of the wall, whence we exclude the possibility of a base-mould.

When it was complete, therefore, the whole structure was aglow with white marble—to which only the cedar-wood throne-legs provided an arresting contrast in colour and texture.

2. *The Fragments of the Statue*

The remains, which are of white marble (Parian, according to Pesce) were all found 'nella zona circostante al podio del Gran Basamento.' They fall into two groups: small pieces of fingers and toes, with the surfaces tolerably preserved, so far as they go, now mostly in the Cyrene museum; and some massive blocks, with their original skins almost entirely destroyed, now in the field immediately north of the temple. Pesce well described both groups, but without illustrations, in *Bull. Soc. Roy. d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, no. 39, 1951 (hereafter referred to as Pesce, *Doc.*), p. 97 ff. I shall here re-examine the more important pieces, and suggest some modifications to his views.

The Digits in the Museum. Pesce describes eleven fragments of fingers and toes, and mentions the existence of others 'too mutilated to be measured.' Nine of the eleven, including all those that seem to have been of any importance, were to be seen in the museum in 1955; they were Pesce's *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *i*, *l*, *m*.

First, the feet. Pesce holds that the left foot 'rested obliquely on its left side with the weight on the little toe, whilst the big toe, and all the right side, were raised and did not touch the base-surface below them.' But I question whether the fragments will allow so positive a statement. True, the little toe (Pesce's frag. *d*) is inclined leftwards—but this is the normal position for an ancient little toe, whatever the attitude of the foot.[19] The rest of Pesce's statement is based on the largest fragment of all, *a*, which he takes to be the big toe of the same foot (here pl. VIII, *b*). But it is likely that this is no toe, but a thumb, probably from the right hand.[20] By way of compensation I tentatively offer a fragment of the left heel (pl VIII, *a*), which I found in the dump of marble fragments on the north side of the sanctuary.[21] It seems to have stood more or less flat and upright, unless the 'plinth' is, in fact, part of a sandal; if so, it could just conceivably have been raised from the ground.

Of the right foot's attitude the only indication is provided by another new fragment, found by me in the same place as the presumed heel. This quite certainly belongs to the statue, and preserves parts of three toes, at the point where they join the foot (pl. VIII, *c*, right-hand fragment). The under-surface of the block is quite plane, but pitted with a small punch. The last three toes, then, were firmly planted on their base, whether this is a mere plinth or the sole of a sandal.[22]

The remaining toe-fragments do not help us to establish the attitude of the feet. Pesce's frag. *b*, a middle toe which could come from either foot, shows indeed by its under-surface that it 'rested in a completely horizontal position' (*Doc.*, p. 99); but this does not take us far. We have also fragments of the fingers, of which two seem to say a little: frag. *i*, which is the joint between the middle- and base-phalanges of (I think) the right index-finger, shows that that finger was bent at an angle of about 60 degrees from the straight. And frag. *a*, which I take to be the thumb of the right hand, shows that this was held well clear of the index-finger, being attached to it by a marble strut.

The Fragments in the Field. Pesce records the discovery of six large masses of marble (his *o–p–q–r–s–t*) and several smaller ones in the area in front, at the sides, and at the back of the statue-base. These were removed to a temporary workshop in the field north of the temple, where the restorer Stampa proceeded to reassemble them. He seems to have done all that could reasonably be done, before his call-up to the Italian army in June, 1940.

There remain in the field six large fragments (presumably those lettered by Pesce, though he gives no details by which they can be individually identified) and two small ones. Two pairs have been correctly mated by Stampa, giving us now four members, which I re-number I to IV.[23] There are many shapeless chunks of the same variety of marble in the dump within the sanctuary, on the north side of the temple; probably Pesce's other, unlettered, fragments. From these no information can be extracted; whereas a little will be yielded by Members I to IV.

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[19] Cf. for example H. Stuart Jones, *Catal. of . . . Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pl. 5, no. 21.

[20] Length, 45 cm.; max. width, 27.5 cm.; depth at rear fracture, 20 cm. Such attributions as this are not easy to enforce on paper. I have carefully considered Pesce's remarks about the digits, and the digits themselves, but do not attempt to give full reasons for my statements. As this particular digit, however, is of some importance, I would note that (1) the strut at the right-hand end of the digit could not have supported a big toe in any credible attitude, but could well have joined a thumb to the adjacent forefinger—the same argument applies to frag. *e*, which may come from the thumb of the other hand. Just such a strut can be seen on the colossal hand recently published by G. Jacopi, *I Ritrovamenti dell' 'Antro cosidetto di Tiberio a Sperlonga*, Rome, 1958, p. 15, fig. 6. (2) the underside is perfectly finished for its entire length; it is not likely that the big toe would have been thus free of the base.

[21] Height, including plinth, 41 cm.; if it is indeed a heel—and the dimensions fit—it must come from the inside of the left foot, for it is roughly worked, with tool-marks still visible; and the outside of the right foot would be too much exposed to public view to allow such negligence. The other fragments are very highly finished.

[22] Height of fragment, 32 cm.; breadth, 24 cm.; depth (front to back), 37 cm.

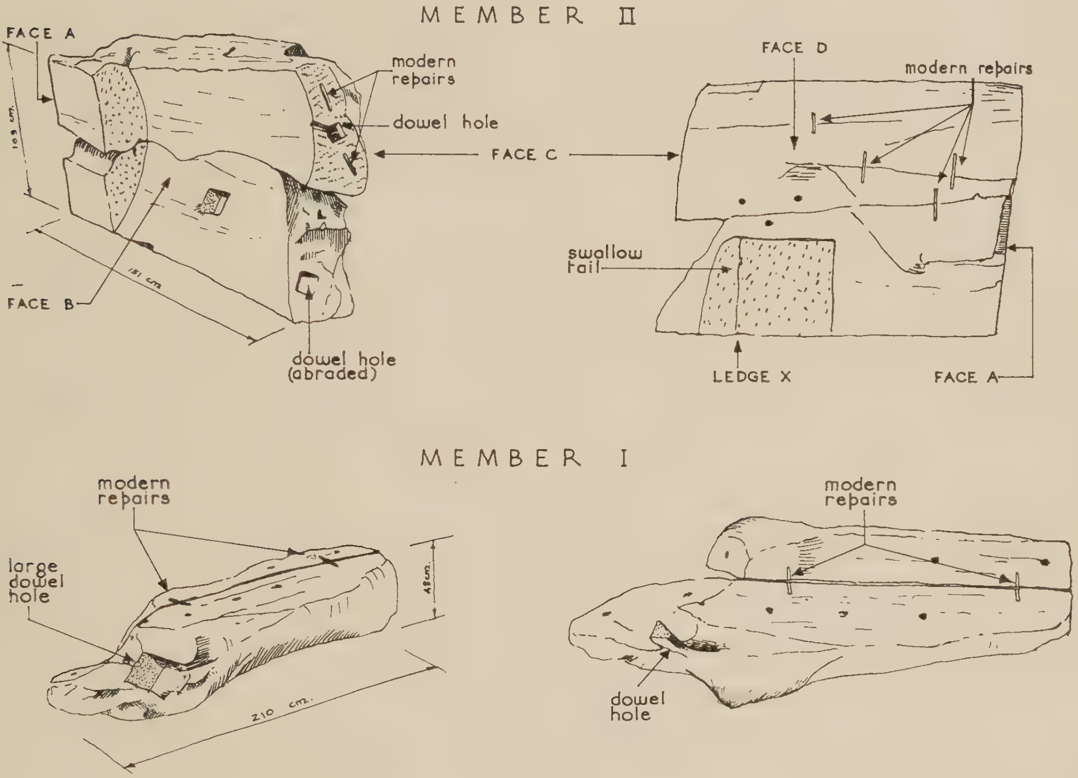

Fig. 6.

The Members are shown in their numerical order (Member I on the left) in the photograph, pl. VII, *c*; nos. I and II are further illustrated by measured drawings (fig. 6). The outside surfaces, except for the two small patches which will be noted in their place, have perished in a way that cannot be ascribed to mere weathering, but must be due either to the splitting action of fire, or to human malice.[24]

Member I is made up of two fragments; a lost third must have been attached to the (present) top surface. There is a deep cutting near its thicker end, showing that some weighty object was pinned to it at an angle of about 75 degrees from the straight. On the under-side (as the member now lies) is a patch of the original smooth outer surface; it curves in an irregular fashion which suggests the swelling of a muscle. With these odd features, Member I cannot have served any architectural purpose; and in fact there can hardly be any doubt that it is one of the forearms of the statue, from elbow to wrist. This conclusion is supported by its dimensions. There are other reasons, which will be seen later, for thinking that the statue must have been about eight times life-size; Member I is 2.07 m. long; and an average human forearm, from elbow to wrist, measures about 25 cm., which, multiplied by eight, equals 2.0 m.

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[23] The attachment of the two small fragments is quite uncertain, and I leave them out of account. Stampa clamped together the fragments that fitted; his rivet-holes for this purpose remain, though the clamps have since been removed by person unknown.

[24] If to human malice, a hammer must have been the instrument used, for there are no marks of sharp tools.

Member IV, which has entirely lost its surface, could yet, so far as its shape and dimensions go, be the other forearm.[25] Member III has one surface (the uppermost visible in pl. VII, *c*) quite plane, roughly dressed with oblique strokes of the punch; adjacent to this (on the top slightly inclining to Member II as the stone now lies) is a narrow band of original worked surface, smooth (except for faint traces of a small claw-chisel) but again curving irregularly. The dimensions allow this to be part of an upper arm, the roughly-dressed surface being that which was laid against the torso.[26]

Member II, fitted together from two fragments, originally stood upright on the smoothly claw-chiselled face A.[27] It had another rounded block pinned on to its likewise claw-chiselled top surface, *C*, where there are two deep rectangular cuttings; and something (an upper arm?) attached to the roughly punched area and ledge (marked X in the drawing) on its ruined outer surface, *D*. Its top edge (as it now lies) is broken away, but the bottom edge is bevelled, and roughly dressed with a punch; it is, therefore, unlikely that any marble block was joined to it on this side. The interior, *B*, is hollowed out in a regular curve, except for the thick ledge on the left in the drawing (that is at the bottom of the block as it originally stood). Both ledge and hollow are dressed in the same way, with short parallel punch-strokes.

Pesce (*Doc.*, p. 100) suggested that Member II formed part of the statue's torso, and this may, I think, be taken as certain.[28] If the statue was acrolithic (see below), we may add that the member probably came from its right side, and that it must have represented undraped flesh.[29] The semicircular hollowing within will be explained by the urgent need to reduce pressure on the uncertain structure beneath.

Conclusions. The fragments of the statue tell us something, even if rather less than their tonnage would lead us to expect. Hands, feet, both (?) forearms, the upper part of at least one arm, and part of the torso (probably from its right side) were of white marble. How much more was of this material we cannot, of course, say for certain, but it is most unlikely that the entire statue was made of it. All the intelligible fragments show exposed flesh; there is not a trace of drapery; and the remaining shapeless marble fragments are nothing like enough to account for the bulk of the whole colossus.[30] Pesce, then, was surely right when he concluded that we have here an acrolith, with the flesh-parts represented in marble, the drapery, hair and accessories in some other material. That this other material was plaster is strongly suggested by the finds in Slot III.

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[25] Max. dimensions 1.72 by 0.77 by 0.62 m. Broken away at the right-hand end (in the photograph).

[26] Max. dimensions 1.18 by 0.74 by 0.55 m. Broken away at right-hand end.

[27] This is shown by the arrangements on the roughly punched rectangular area seen on Face D. The left-hand strip of this area is sunk more deeply into the marble than the right-hand one; and on the face of the narrow ledge *X* thus left between the two there is a cutting for a swallow-tail clamp. Such clamps are only used to join upward-facing surfaces; Side C of the member must therefore have been the top, Side A the bottom.

[28] The only alternative—a difficult one in view of the findplace—is to deny its connection with the statue altogether. That it cannot have been part of the head is shown both by its shape and by its dimensions.

[29] Pesce, apparently taking the present irregular outer surface to be the original one, has the notion that the block was merely part of the core of the torso, a sort of central pier round which the visible surface was built up of wood, plaster, or other materials. But why use the expensive and ponderous marble, whose surface is its prime recommendation, in a place where it could not be seen? Such a proceeding does not fit the character of our second-century builder. And the present outer surface cannot, on any theory, be the original; for one thing, the careful tooling on the interior—unseen and non-functional—makes it most unlikely that the exterior was left so raw.

By all analogies the face also, if not the whole head, should have been in marble, but there is no recognisable fragment of it.[31] That is not to say that it never existed. Everything about the Cyrenaean Zeus—the angry marks of fire on the crumbling masonry, the seared fragments in the slot, the ruined exteriors of the marble members—suggests that it was deliberately destroyed. The fury might well concentrate on that face, which would have spoken the most commandingly of the pagan past. Elsewhere in this article I am bound to treat the statue as an object in timber and stone. Here is the place to reflect on the power that it must have exerted over men's minds; how greatly it could be loved and, when the time came, how intensely hated.

3. *Summary of Results*

Figure 5*b* shows a restored sketch of the base and its surroundings; everything shown is certain, except for the height and exact shape of the footstool. The colours and shapes of the temple's interior were clear and bright; smooth Corinthian columns of green *cipollino*, with bases and capitals of blue-veined white marble; bronze and stone statuary in the side-chapels between them; the cella walls behind clad with green-veined marble slabs.[32] The front view of the statue was by far the most important, for one could only just pass along the narrow passages between its base and the colonnades on each side; and even if one did so, the god would appear monstrously foreshortened. The wise spectator stayed well back on the cella floor to admire the whole work.

Platform, throne and footstool presented a clean front of white marble, articulated by the horizontal cornices, and set off by the darker shade of the cedar throne-legs. The narrow rectangular cross-section of the legs proves almost conclusively that the timber throne belonged to Miss Richter's Type 2. In this type the plank-like leg is regularly decorated with a double palmette, partly in relief and partly cut out, about half-way up its front face.[33] The seated colossus rose above all; its interior was a tower of rough masonry, but its feet, arms and face (?) were rendered in highly finished white marble, its drapery probably in plaster. If an *argumentum*

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[30] At a guess, their total bulk would amount to about two-thirds of that of the marble fragments described above.

[31] The noble if rather metallic head of Zeus, found in the temple and brilliantly recomposed by Guidi, is far too small to belong—as Guidi himself at once saw (*Africa Italiana* i, 1927, p. 7; cf. Pesce, *Gr. T.*, p. 350 and *Doc.*, p. 99).

[32] Patch on the south wall found and replaced by Guidi: Pesce, *Gr. T.*, p. 340.

[33] *Ancient Furniture*, p. 13 ff. The type was specially popular in the second half of the fifth century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 25), but it persisted until fairly late in antiquity. A good Roman example: *ibid.*, fig. 286.

ex absentia can be trusted, the legs and the left side of the torso were not rendered in marble, therefore were covered by drapery. One of the arms was bent at about 75 degrees (see on Member I); and the right hand may have held something heavy—perhaps a Victory.[34]

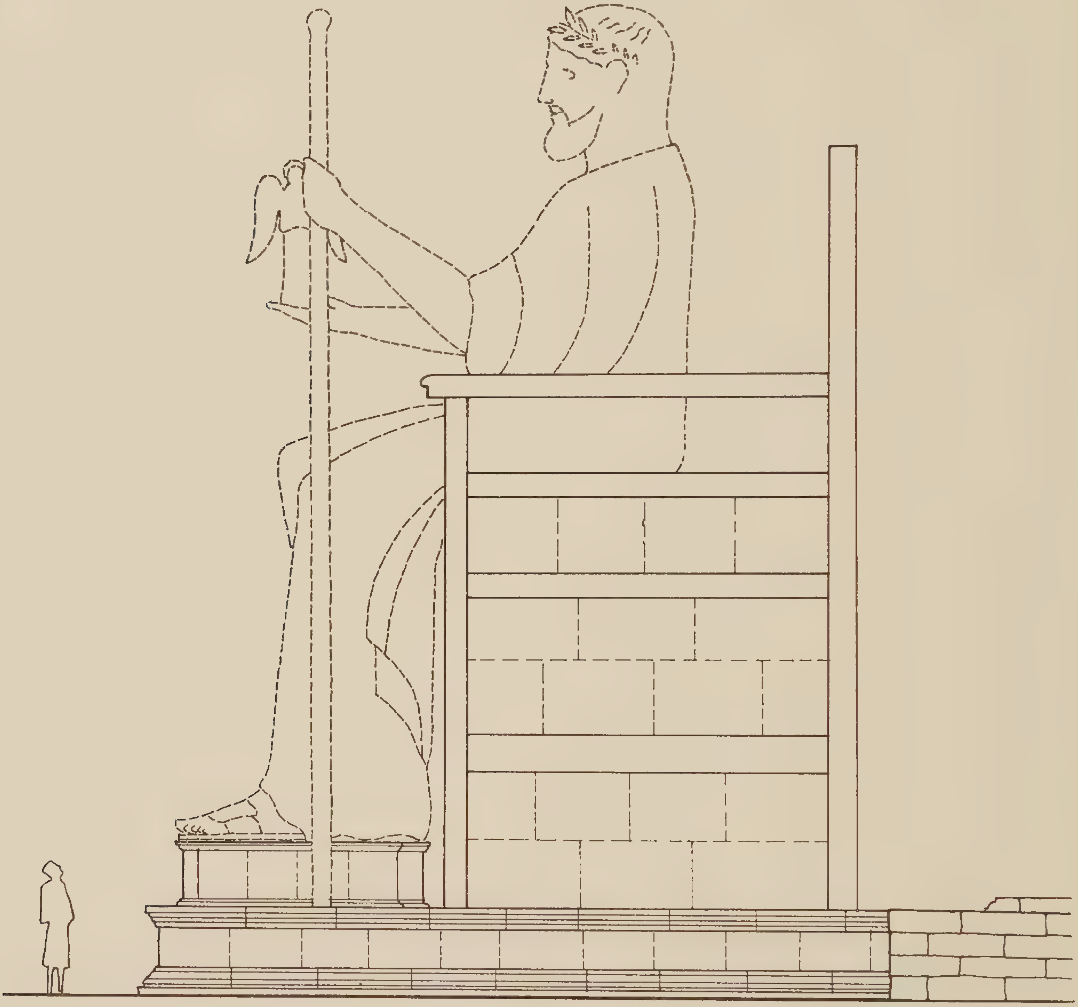

Fig. 7.

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[34] Cutting H (above, p. 48) and the pecularities of the south flank of the throne-core (p. 50) are evidence for the weight in the right hand. Pesce (*Doc.*, p. 100) has already suggested the Victory; Dr. Enrico Paribeni very kindly allows me to mention here his observation that fragments of two statues of a Victory have actually been found in Cyrene. They are both replicas of a well-known type (best represented by the replica in Berlin, Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. 75, figs. 222–3), the original of which was Attic, and of the time of Pheidias; moreover Schrader (JdI, 56, 1941, 13 ff.), followed by Becatti, has argued that it was none other than the Victory held in the hand of Pheidias' Olympian Zeus. Unfortunately there is no record of the exact find-place of the two Cyrene replicas, of which one is in the Cyrene museum, and will be published by Dr. Paribeni in his forthcoming catalogue of the sculptures there, while the other is now in the Louvre; but their existence is suggestive.

Conspectus of Measurements. Many of my figures (here and elsewhere) will be found to disagree with those given by Pesce in his table, *Gr. T.*, pp. 339–340. Where the difference is only one of a few centimetres, the explanation will simply be the poor state of the structure, which is such that no two persons are likely to arrive at precisely the same figure. In the measurements of the footstool and the throne, some more striking differences appear; these are due to the new evidence afforded by the projections at *J* and *K*, and by the slots I to IV.

Platform:	(without base-mould) m.	(with base-mould) m.
Breadth across east front	7.77	8.29
Breadth across west	8.00	8.52
Length of north flank	9.86	10.12
Length of south flank	10.10	10.36
Height	1.14 m.	

Footstool (restored measurements, including base-mould and front projections; cf. p. 48 f.):	m.
Max. breadth, north to south ..	3.95 approx.
Max. depth	3.25
Height (preserved)	0.88

Throne (measurements taken from the outer corners of the four throne-leg slots);	m.
Breadth across east front[35]	7.06
Breadth across west face	7.31
Depth, along north flank	5.92
Depth, along south flank	5.64
Height (preserved)	2.40

Size of the Statue. The data for calculating this are: the digits; Member I; and the preserved dimensions of the base.

Ex digito Iovem is a novel and perplexing proposition; and I do not in fact suggest that the museum digits (none of them even preserved entire) will prove more than a wavering pointer to the statue's scale. Two sets of figures should suffice. Pesce's fragment *a* (which he calls a big toe, and I believe to be a thumb) is eight times the size of a normal human big toe and ten times that of a thumb; and the fragment showing the base of three toes, found by me, indicates a foot some eight to ten times normal size.

Member I has been treated above, p. 53 f., where it was shown that, if correctly identified as a forearm, it is about eight times life-size. Finally, the dimensions of the platform and throne are close to the corresponding dimensions of Pheidias' cult-statue at Olympia, so far as these are preserved. Now we know that the Olympia Zeus—including footstool, but not platform—was 12.375 m. (= 40ft. 7 in.) high: that is, again, eight times life-size. We may then reasonably suppose that the Cyrenaean stood roughly to the same height; compare the scale drawing in Fig. 7 (where the Olympia Zeus, as shown on the Florence coin, has been experimentally placed on the restored Cyrene throne).

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[35] This measurement and the following one are not absolutely certain; the reason is that the position of the end-wall of Slot III is doubtful, while that of Slot IV is quite destroyed. I have assumed that these slots were equal in length to their respective opposite numbers; in fact, neither can have been more than a few centimetres longer than this, without cutting into the marble cornice surrounding the top of the platform. The remaining three measurements are certain.

4. *Cyrene and Olympia*

If, in the second half of the second century A.D., a provincial sculptor was charged with the design of a seated statue of Zeus, eight times life-size, where did he look for inspiration? Hardly to himself; the hour was too late for that. Should he look to the past, as was the manner of his time, he would certainly think first of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, which was of this very scale,[36] and had for the past century been at the height of its fame. As Lucian (who was reaching his maturity when the Cyrene rebuilding began) concisely remarked: it was Pheidias who 'revealed Zeus' (*Somn s. Vita*, 8). And that the Pheidian style was admired in Cyrene itself during those years is shown by the discovery of the Guidi Zeus and of a copy of the Parthenos in the cella of our temple.[37] The easiest, as well as the most popular, course for our sculptor would be to borrow wholesale the proportions of the Olympian Zeus; true, the rich accessory sculptures and paintings of the original must be absent from the copy, while marble and plaster must here do duty for ivory and gold.

Is this what actually happened? Both Pesce and Chamoux have suggested as much, in passing; the time has perhaps come when it is worth while to marshal the relevant evidence.

Our sources for the lost gold and ivory Zeus by Pheidias may be summarised thus:—(*a*), a long description, but without measurements, in Pausanias V.11.1 ff[38]; (*b*), the fragmentary sixth poem of Callimachus' *Iambi*, which was concerned to give the exact measurements and the cost of the statue;[39] (*c*), the rectangular outline of the base on the floor of the Olympia temple, and some of the stones from that base;[40] (*d*), certain Hadrianic coins of Elis, some showing the statue as a whole,[41] some the head only.[42]

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[36] There are no other statues of Zeus, besides these two, that are known to have been eight times life-size. The Hadrianic Zeus in the Olympieion at Athens was much greater: Pausanias (I.18.6) says that only the Rhodian and the Roman colossi exceeded it in size. Anyhow, it was probably not the model to choose: as the periegete viciously adds, 'its technique is good—considering the scale.'

[37] The Zeus: Guidi in *Africa Italiana* i, 1927, p. 3 f.; the Parthenos copy: Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 101 and n. 1.

[38] J. Overbeck, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen*, no. 696; *ibid.*, nos. 692 to 754 for the other, much less informative, literary sources.

[39] R. Pfeiffer, *The Measurements of the Zeus at Olympia*, *J.H.S.* lxi (1941), pp. 1–5; id., *Callimachus*, vol. I, pp. 188–191. Perhaps it is worth noting that a couple of *multiplicatores postpositi* can be added to the instances he adduces in his comm. on lines 25 ff.: Aeschylus, *Persae* 323 *πεντήκοντα πεντάκις*, 343 *ἑκατὸν δίς*.

[40] Doerpfeld in *Olympia* ii (1892), p. 13 ff.; further references in Pfeiffer (see last note).

[41] A recent survey in L. Lacroix, *Les Reproductions de Statues sur les Monnaies grecques* (1949), p. 259 ff. Most useful for our purpose is the Florence coin, *ibid.*, pl. xxii.7; good enlarged photograph in *JdI*, xlvi (1931), p. 11.

[42] Fully published by J. Liegle, *Der Zeus des Phidias* (1952). Much is to be hoped from the discoveries lately made by E. Kunze and others on the site of Pheidias' workshop at Olympia; known to me at the time of writing only from the provisional report in *Gnomon*, 28 (1956), p. 317 ff., and the brief illustrated account by F. Eckstein in *Atlantis* (Zurich), Heft 7, July 1956, pp. 303–305.

From sources (*b*) and (*c*) I construct the following table of measurements, placing the corresponding Cyrene measurement alongside them :—

	Olympia	*Cyrene*[43]
Platform :		
Breadth, N.–S. :	6.65 m.	at E., 8.29 m. (7.77) at W., 8.52 m. (8.00)
Depth, E.–W. :	9.93 *or* 9.67 m.[44]	N. flank, 10.12 m. (9.86) S. flank, 10.36 m. (10.10)
Height :	?1.09 m.[45]	1.14 m.
Throne :		
Breadth, N.–S. :	6.65 m.	at E., 7.06 m. at W., 7.31 m.

Granted the great scale of both statues, and the negligent workmanship at Cyrene (where even opposite sides of the throne can differ between themselves by as much as 25 cm. = nearly 9 in.), the depth and perhaps the height of the platforms correspond surprisingly closely. There is a serious difference in the breadth-measurements, of platform as of throne, which proceeds from a structural difference : at Cyrene the platform was wider than the throne, at Olympia platform and throne were equal in width.[46] I do not think that this automatically excludes the possibility that the one work was copied from the other. A conceivable explanation is that, once it was decided to retain the flank-walls (i.e. the pre-115 stereobates) as part of the new structure, it was necessary to keep a reasonable amount of their original width; and that the legs of the throne were pulled out accordingly, until they nearly met the top-cornice of the platform. It should be observed that the throne itself (including, as ever, the cedar-wood legs) is at its eastern front only 45 cm. (16 in.) wider than the Olympia throne.

Apart from these measurements, we can recover sadly little of the Cyrene statue's appearance; but that little, at least, does not conflict with what is known of the Olympian. The scale of the limbs has already been mentioned. There is also some evidence that the two statues were similarly draped,[47] and that both extended a heavy weight in the right hand. The Cyrenaean Zeus sat on a throne of Richter's Type 2. The form of the Olympian's throne has long been disputed, for the good reason that the direct evidence—Pausanias and the coins—is quite inconclusive.[48] But, if we examine the parallels from the second half of the fifth century B.C. we find, first, that Type 2 was at that date generally preferred to Type 3,[49] and second, that the only other elaborate seated Zeus by Pheidias sat on a throne of Type 2 : the Zeus in the East pediment of the Parthenon.[50] Of the footstool at Olympia all that we know is what Pausanias tells us (V.11.7) : *λέοντάς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ Θησέως ἐπειργασμένην ἔχει μάχην τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας.* Exactly how these sculptured accessories were applied is unknown.[51] *Ex hypothesi* they would not have been reproduced at Cyrene, though the rounded objects at the corners of the footstool there are not, in fact, irreconcilable with them.

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[43] For the breadth and depth of the platform these measurements include the base-moulds; Doerpfeld implies that his figures for the Olympia base include the base-mould there. In brackets are the measurements excluding base-moulds.

[44] The first figure is Doerpfeld's, the second that of Forbat (*Alt-Olympia*, i, p. 233 f.). The marks on the Olympia pavement are ambiguous; but if Pfeifer's tentative supplement of line 26 in the Callimachus fragment (*JHS*, lxi (1941), p. 4, n. 13) is accepted, it confirms Doerpfeld.

[45] So restored by Doerpfeld, *Olympia*, ii, p. 13 f.; the figure 1.90 in Pfeiffer's *Callimachus*, vol. I, p. 190, n. on line 27, seems to be a misprint.

[46] Pfeiffer, *JHS*, lxi (1941), p. 4.

[47] The Olympian wore an himation (Paus. V.11.1), which covered him from waist to feet (coins), while one end of it was passed behind his back and fell over his left shoulder and upper arm, leaving the right side of the torso bare (Florence coin; the other coins are at variance, but see Schrader in *JdI*, lvi (1941), pp. 8–9). For the Cyrenaean's drapery, see above, p. 55 f.

Finally, I would recall, though with all reservations, the inscription found by Guidi in the pronaos of the Cyrene temple :[52]

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ
Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ
Αὐρήλιος
Ῥοῦφος ἀρχι
τέκτων εὐ
χὴν ἀπέδωκα

The other known epithets of Zeus in this sanctuary are : *Lykaios*(?) in the fifth century B.C.,[53] *Augustus*, probably in the early first century A.D.;[54] and just possibly *Soterios*, on the official dedicatory inscription across the front of our statue-base, dated between A.D. 185 and 192.[55] Aurelius Rufus' inscription is the only dedication to Zeus *Olympios* found on the site,[56] but it may well be contemporary with the colossus. We may, in fact, have here the thank-offering of the architect responsible for the second-century reconstruction and even for the statue itself. But whoever

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[48] Schrader, in *JdI*, lvi (1941), p. 49 ff., discussed the question at full length. He rightly observes that the choice can only lie between Types 2 and 3, and then decides emphatically for Type 3 (throne with turned legs). His reasons—and my objections to them—may be summarised as follows :

(*a*) Type 2 offers an unsatisfactory side-view, whereas the Olympian Zeus was certainly designed to be seen from the sides; witness the Niobid reliefs. But the mere ground-plan of the Olympia temple shows that there can nowhere have been a side-view of the statue as a whole; easily-assimilated details on the sides are quite another matter. And, in any case, if Pheidias felt that Type 2 looked odd from the sides, why did he employ it in the centre of the Parthenon East Pediment, where only the side was visible ?

(*b*) The Florence coin indicates Type 3. But the indications are just not clear enough at the feet, the vital part; further, as Schrader confesses, the upper part of the legs is clearly flat and rectangular, not rounded as Type 3 demands.

(*c*) The Victories which Pausanias records as adorning the throne-legs could more readily be applied to a circular leg, as in Type 3, than to the plank-like leg of Type 2. I agree that a circular leg is, theoretically, more desirable for this purpose; but this is, at best, only a supporting argument, and at present I see little for it to support.

(*d*) A Type 3 throne would suit the known ground-plan of the Olympia platform better than a Type 2. It would be unfair to summarise the intricate calculations which lead Schrader to this last proposition. But I think that his premisses are dubious; and the most important of them, the breadth of the throne, has now been proved false by the publication of Callimachus' poem. Moreover, at Cyrene a Type 2 throne does fit a platform of nearly the same dimensions as the Olympia platform.

[49] Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, p. 25.

[50] See, e.g., the Madrid Puteal, Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci*, pl. XII, fig. 35. In the Parthenon frieze, indeed, the Zeus is seated on a variant of Type 3, with turned legs and a low back. But this is made necessary by the marvellous informality of that divine gathering; there would have been constraint if Zeus had held his state in the grandiose Type 2.

[51] Some suggestions in Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–68.

[52] Also discussed above, p. 33.

[53] Hdt.IV.203 (cf. Chamoux, p. 330). On the connections with Zeus *Ammon* (attested only by coins) see Chamoux, p. 331 ff.

[54] Above, p. 38.

[55] Above, p. 35.

[56] Another inscription found on the site (no. 1 in Pesce, *Doc.*, p. 84 ff.) contains in its first line the letters]ιω[. Pesce restores this as Διὶ Ὀλυμπ]ίω[ι, but I can see no reason to do so.

Aurelius Rufus may be, and whatever his reasons for gratitude, it is plain that this is a private, unofficial transaction between him and the god. Could his choice of epithet be taken as evidence that the temple-statue resembled the Zeus of Pheidias?

Now of course *Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος* occurs very frequently in ancient literature. Most commonly, both in prose and in poetry, it means 'Zeus who dwells in Olympus';[57] but it can also mean 'the Zeus of Olympia';[58] and yet again, in prose-writers of the Empire, it can mean 'the statue of Zeus by Pheidias.'[59] It is quite possible that Aurelius Rufus had only the first of these meanings in mind. But, if that is so, he is using a vague and unexpressive title, which would be understandable if he were constrained (as many a dedicator was) by metrical considerations but seems out of place in this spare, taut prose sentence. I am inclined to believe that his epithet has been chosen with deliberation, and to let it stand as an element in the problem.[60]

Such are the facts. As I see them, there are some remarkable coincidences between the Cyrenaean Zeus and the Zeus by Pheidias, though not yet enough to prove decisively that the one was a copy (more or less careless) of the other. The suggestion remains to be tested, let us hope, by further discoveries, at Olympia or elsewhere. If it is confirmed, the Cyrenaean can add substantially to our knowledge of the form and dimensions of the Olympian Zeus, his footstool and his throne. Even if it is not, a statue so close in scale and plan may help with some old problems; for example, the length of the Niobid reliefs.

C. J. HERINGTON

APPENDIX

RECENT WORK OF RESTORATION

(1) *Re-erection of a column of the peristasis*, 1957. Pl. VI, *a*.

In the summer of 1957, at the invitation of the Department of Antiquities, the Royal Engineers of Cyrenaica Military District undertook the re-erection of one of the fallen columns of the Temple of Zeus. With the approval of Brigadier L. Martin, D.S.O., District Commander, and of Colonel R. Greenwood, R.E., Chief Engineer in Libya, the task was organised as a field training programme, and was directed by Majors G. Sinkinson and H. Hanbury-Brown, R.E., in the closest collaboration with the Department of Antiquities.

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[57] Liddell and Scott,[9] *s.v.* Ὀλύμπιος; Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum, s.v.* *Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος.* Such must also have been its regular meaning when it was used as an official cult-title; for the thirteen Greek sanctuaries where Zeus was worshipped under this name, see Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 1104, n. 1.

[58] *e.g.*, Hdt.II.7; Thuc.V.31.2; in each case the context makes the meaning clear. Sometimes ambiguity is avoided by writing *ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεός* (Hdt.IX.81.1).

[59] Overbeck, *Die Antiken Schriftquellen*, nos. 719–722, 730, etc.; add the Milan diegesis to the poem of Callimachus which describes the statue, *Callimachus* ed. Pfeiffer, vol. I, p. 189. Ammianus Marcellinus refers to the statue as Jupiter Olympiacus (XXII.13).

[60] Guidi (in *Africa Italiana*, i) suggested that the epithet 'Olympios' in the Aurelius Rufus inscription might refer to the Zeus statue whose head he discovered on the cella floor in front of the great base. Granted that that head is a reduced copy or at least (as I would prefer to put it) a reminiscence of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, this theory is at first sight attractive; and the arguments used in my text would apply equally well to it. But there is one serious objection: why should Aurelius Rufus' votive inscription, which was found in the pronaos, make special reference to one particular statue of the many found in the cella—unless that statue was the cult-statue itself? Guidi did, in fact, suggest (p. 7) that the 'Guidi Zeus' had served as the cult-statue in the Antonine period before the installation of the colossus under Commodus, and that only then was it moved to an inferior position. But there is no evidence for this; against it are (1) the relatively small scale of the Guidi Zeus, (2) the fact (which has been clear only since Pesce's investigations) that the Antonine reconstruction of the temple envisaged the colossus from the start. The theory can only be saved if we can find traces of an earlier reconstruction, between A.D. 115 and the principate of Marcus; and this is exceedingly unlikely.

On the site of the column chosen for re-erection (the third column east of the south-west corner) was erected a high tower composed of standard Bailey Bridge panels and girders. On its summit was placed a travelling gantry with differential pulley. The fallen drums, each weighing some 5 tons, were man-hauled to a point below the gantry, then lashed around their circumference with ropes and lifted by pulley to their correct position. The positioning of the drums was ensured by inserting wooden centering-pins in the holes drilled for this purpose by the original builders of the Temple. Although much worn on their inner faces, which had lain uppermost and exposed to the weather, the drums conserved most of the fluting of their outer faces, except in the case of the eighth drum, which had hit a wall during its fall and bounced out of position, losing thereby most of its face. A masonry filling, of equivalent height, was inserted in place of this drum.

The enormous Doric capital, weighing 14 tons, could not be lifted by rope slings owing to its shape. A vertical hole was therefore drilled through its centre, and into this was inserted a steel lifting bar with two nuts holding a metal plate on which the weight of the capital rested. The upper surface of the ninth drum was countersunk to receive this plate, and once the capital was positioned the lifting bar was unscrewed and removed.

The whole operation was complicated by the fragility of the local limestone from which the drums were cut. Once lowered into position the drums could not easily be lifted again; and for this reason a slight westward displacement of the seventh drum—due probably to the breaking of the centering-pin—could not be rectified except by bringing back the ninth drum and capital into a vertical plane with the base by means of plumb-line.

In addition to the complete column, a half-column was re-erected beside it, and two bottom drums at the south-west corner of the building. Thus the visitor now has a guide for assessing the height and proportions of the original building. Moreover the complete column serves both as a landmark and as a discreet memorial to Cyrenaica District, of which the insignia in war and peace has always been a column and a half-column of a Greek temple.

(2) *Consolidation and display of fragments of the Zeus statue*, 1958. Pl. VIII, *c*.

Some of the fragments of the colossal statue of Zeus first described by Pesce and re-examined above by Mr. Herington have now been placed on display in the new wing of Cyrene Sculpture Museum, opened in June 1958. Their consolidation and mounting was carried out by Mr. V. Nielsen, restorer at the National Museum of Copenhagen, who has undertaken two missions to Cyrene under the auspices of U.N.E.S.C.O., for the purpose of repairing statues and instructing Libyan personnel in such work.

Before mounting the digits previously known, Mr. Nielsen examined the large number of somewhat amorphous marble fragments lying on the site of the Temple itself. He was able to identify an additional piece of the right foot linking the little toe identified by Pesce with the junction of two toes recognised by Herington (pl. VIII, *c*).

The toes, finger nails and knuckles, and the piece of heel now identified by Mr. Herington have all been mounted on a marble-faced base reproducing in outline (though not in detail) the form of the original statue-base. The upper cornice bears the opening part of the dedicatory inscription to Commodus. The larger fragments of the statue, too fragmentary to be readily intelligible to the visitor, remain on the site of the Temple.

R. G. Goodchild

SUTRI *(SUTRIUM)*

(NOTES ON SOUTHERN ETRURIA, 3)

(Plates IX–XXIV)

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I. INTRODUCTION

The modern town of Sutri lies 50 km. north of Rome, beside the Via Cassia, on the site of the ancient Sutrium (pl. X, *a*, *b*). It was already in existence in Etruscan times, passed to the Romans at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., was twice colonised by them and reached a peak of prosperity under the early Empire. It continued to flourish in the early Middle Ages, but a rapid decline set in after the fourteenth century and the town to-day is comparatively modest and unimportant.

The following report is concerned mainly with the ancient town and with a typical area of the surrounding countryside (7 km. × 12 km. in extent), as it was in Etruscan and Roman times (fig. 1, p. 64). It is chiefly a record of the archaeological remains found in the area during five months' fieldwork in the winter and spring, 1957–1958, undertaken as part of the British School's current programme of

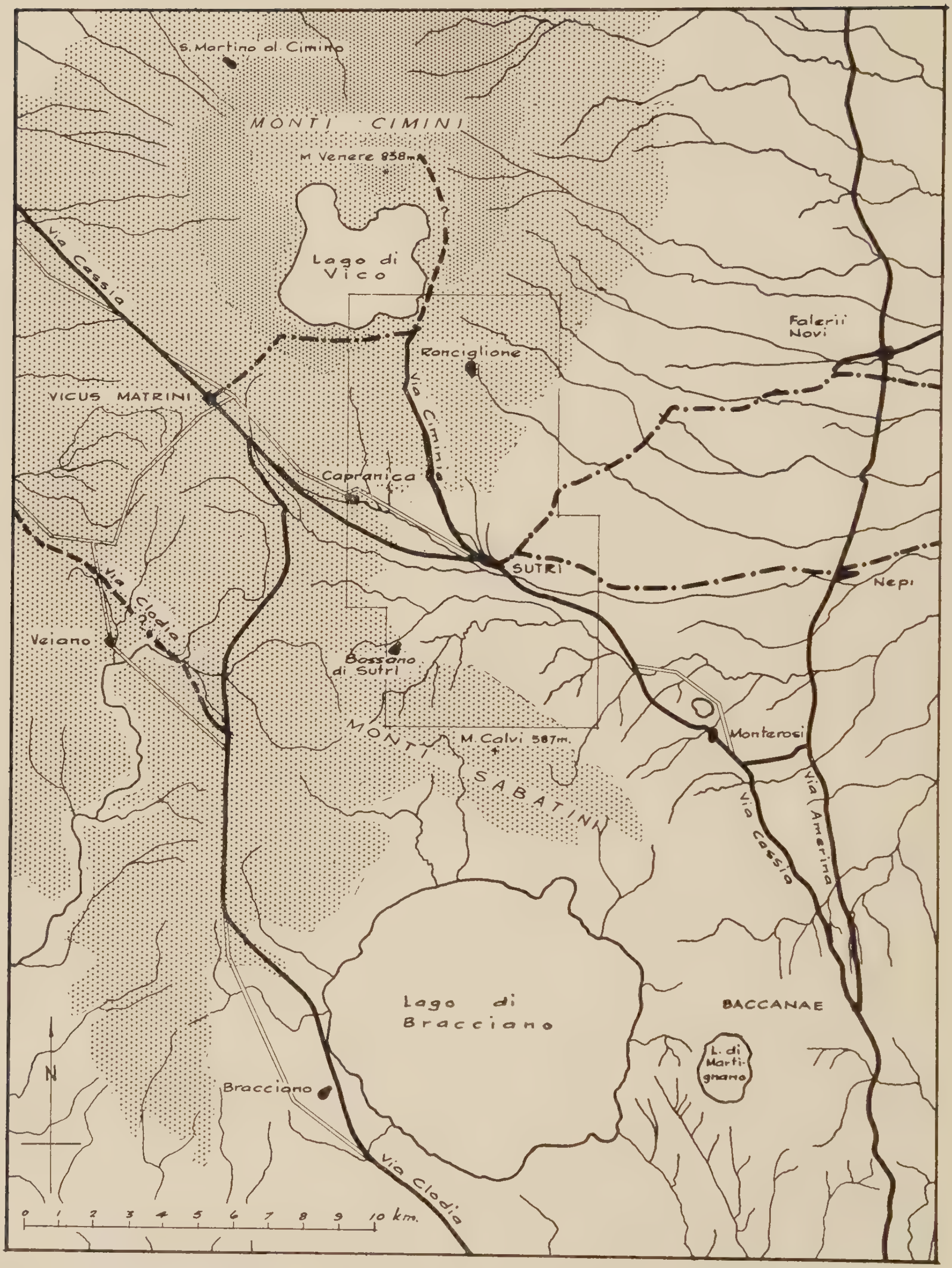
S. Martino al Cimino
MONTI CIMINI
M Venere 838m.
Lago di Vico
Via Cassia
Ronciglione
Via Cimini
VICUS MATRINI
Capranica
Falerii Novi
SUTRI
Nepi
Via Clodia
Veiano
Bassano di Sutri
MONTI SABATINI
M. Calvi 587m.
Monterosi
Via Cassia
Via Amerina
Lago di Bracciano
BACCANAE
L. di Martignano
Bracciano
Via Clodia
N
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 km.

FIG. 1. THE SUTRI DISTRICT, SHOWING THE MAIN ROMAN ROADS AND THE AREA COVERED BY FIGS. 5, 6, 7, 12 AND 13 (Scale 1 : 200,000. Contours at 300 and 600 metres.)

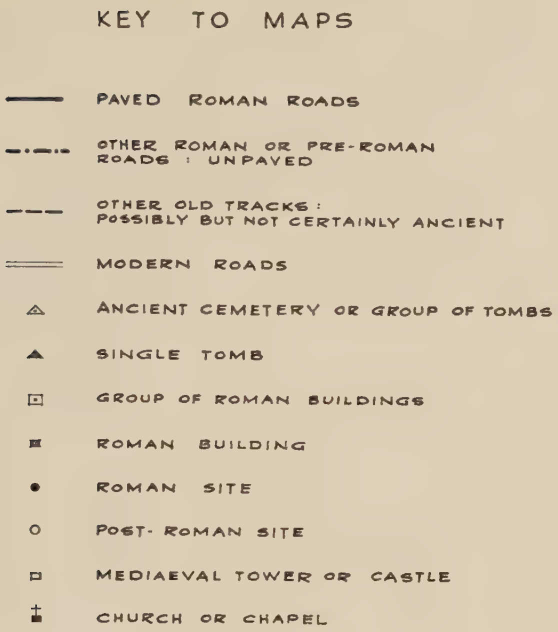
KEY TO MAPS
PAVED ROMAN ROADS
OTHER ROMAN OR PRE-ROMAN ROADS : UNPAVED
OTHER OLD TRACKS : POSSIBLY BUT NOT CERTAINLY ANCIENT
MODERN ROADS
ANCIENT CEMETERY OR GROUP OF TOMBS
SINGLE TOMB
GROUP OF ROMAN BUILDINGS
ROMAN BUILDING
ROMAN SITE
POST- ROMAN SITE
MEDIAEVAL TOWER OR CASTLE
CHURCH OR CHAPEL

FIG. 2.

survey in southern Etruria, which is designed to record permanently such remains before they disappear for ever, as they are fast doing.[1]

The antiquities of the ancient town itself are already well known and have been described several times in the past. But, apart from occasional references to isolated finds and an attempt towards the end of the last century to map the ancient roads, the countryside outside the town has never been properly explored. The bulk of the original work, therefore, lies in sections III and IV. The Etruscan and the Roman roads have been located, as far as is possible, and all the sites which are still to be found have been recorded. In certain areas present-day woodland concealed a few, notably round the small town of Bassano di Sutri and towards the summit of M. Calvi, south of Sutri, and cultivation in the immediate vicinity of the modern towns may have destroyed a few more, especially near Ronciglione; but at the most it is probable that only about 20 sites were lost or missed in this way, as opposed to a total recorded of some 220. Except for woodland, all the ground within the limits of the area chosen was walked over and examined.

Finally, a brief section has been added at the end, for the sake of completeness, describing the changes that took place in post-Roman times.

Of the many people who have helped me in the work, my thanks are due first and foremost to the Director of the British School, Mr. J. B. Ward-Perkins, who was responsible for my undertaking the task in the first place and who gave me his advice and encouragement throughout. For assistance in executing the fieldwork, I owe a special debt of thanks to Mrs. Anne Kahane and Mrs. Betty Eastwood, who were always willing to make excursions into the countryside, as well as to several other friends and enthusiasts who accompanied me from time to time. Mrs. Eastwood also kindly provided information on the geological problems that arose and Mr. Peter Brown, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, contributed a note on the ruined medieval chapel, now known locally as 'S. Giovanni a pollo.' Mr. Martin Frederiksen, Research Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was kind enough to read the manuscript and made a number of helpful suggestions. The maps and plans were drawn by Mr. David Dickens, who likewise joined in carrying out the field measuring and surveying involved in them. None of the work would have been possible without the permission of the Italian Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria and Professor Moretti of the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome, courteously allowed me to examine the inventory of material stored there. The citizens of Sutri, from the Mayor downwards, were friendly and interested throughout and gave active assistance on several occasions.

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[1] Cf. *PBSR*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 44–72; xxv, 1957, pp. 67–208.

Considerable use has been made of map references in the report, particularly to specify the position of sites. This has become possible only comparatively recently in Italy, with the adoption of the standard international grid. Six-figure references have been chosen as sufficiently accurate for the present purposes: the grid lines have been indicated on the maps in the text: and the sites will be found in numerical order (i.e. from west to east) in the List of Sites on p. 98 ff. (or on p. 126 ff., for post-Roman sites). The maps employed have been the relevant sheets of the 1:25.000 Carta d'Italia, prepared by the Istituto Geografico Militare, namely:—

Bassano di Sutri (Sheet 143, IV S.E.; 1940).
Capranica (Sheet 143, IV N.E.; 1940).
Ronciglione (Sheet 143, I N.O.; 1940).
Sutri (Sheet 143, I S.O.; 1940).

The following works are cited throughout in abbreviated form:—

Dennis	George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2 vols., London, 3rd edition, 1883.
Nibby	A. Nibby, *Analisi Storico-Topografico-Antiquaria della Carta de' Dintorni di Roma*, 3 vols., Rome, 1st edition, 1837; 2nd edition, 1849.
Nispi-Landi	Ciro Nispi-Landi, *Storia dell'Antichissima Citta di Sutri*, Rome, 1887.
Tomassetti	Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, 3 vols., Rome, 1913.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

II. SUTRI

(*i*) *History*

We do not know the date of the earliest settlement of Sutri, but by the time that it first appears in literary history, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., it is already an Etruscan town, lying on the west edge of the territory of the Falisci and controlling a natural line of communications between them, on the east, and Tarquinii, on the west (fig. 1, p. 64). With the destruction of Veii in 396 B.C., the Romans were able to cross the Monti Sabatini for the first time, penetrating into the country of the Falisci and advancing as far as Sutri and Nepi, with both of which

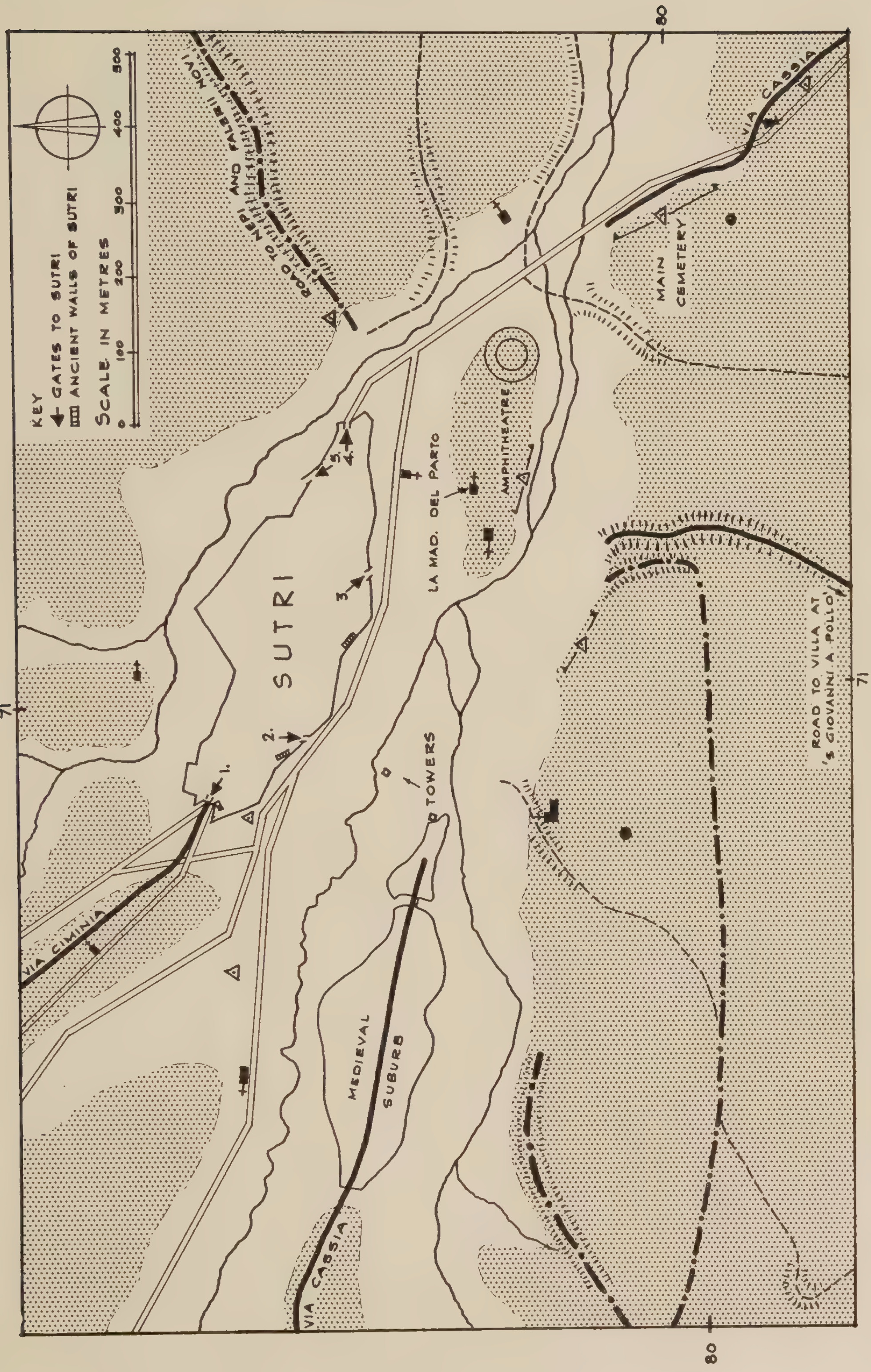
KEY
GATES TO SUTRI
ANCIENT WALLS OF SUTRI
SCALE IN METRES
0
100
200
300
400
500
ROAD TO NEPI AND FALERII NOVI
VIA CASSIA
80
SUTRI
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
LA MAD. DEL PARTO
AMPHITHEATRE
MAIN CEMETERY
TOWERS
MEDIEVAL SUBURB
VIA CIMINIA
VIA CASSIA
ROAD TO VILLA AT 'S GIOVANNI A POLLO'
71
71
80

Fig. 3. Sutri and its Immediate Environs (For symbols see Fig. 2; the shading marks the 300 m. contour)

they made some form of alliance.[2] But in 389 B.C., while Rome was still recovering from the sack of the Gauls in the previous year, the Etruscans retook the two towns. They only held them for a short time, however, as they were immediately recaptured once more by Furius Camillus.[3] It was either on this occasion, or shortly afterwards, that Sutri became a Latin colony (390 B.C. or 383 B.C.).[4] Thereafter followed a period of comparative peace, until in 310 B.C. the Etruscans again attacked Sutri, while the Romans were, as they hoped, fully engaged with the Samnites. But the consul, Q. Fabius Rullianus, came north with a relieving force, defeated the Etruscans, raised the seige of the town and pursued the enemy into the Ciminian forest beyond.[5]

There is then no mention of Sutri for a hundred years, until the Second Punic War. Then, exhausted by the continual exactions of Rome, in 210 B.C., both Sutri and Nepi, and 10 others of the 30 Latin colonies, refused to supply their annual contributions of troops and money. For the time being, Rome was too occupied to punish them. But six years later, in 204 B.C., they were heavily fined for their refusal.[6]

The last reference to the town in literary history comes at the end of the first century B.C., when it was occupied by Agrippa in the civil war between Antony and Octavian.[7]

Sutri seems to have become a *municipium* soon after the Social War,[8] and a new colony was planted there, probably by the triumvirate, in the period following the death of Caesar—COLONIA CONIUNCTA IULIA SUTRINA.[9] Not long afterwards it is included by Strabo among the larger towns of Southern Etruria[10] and in the second century A.D. it is mentioned by Ptolemy.[11]

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[2] The earliest literary reference is a cryptic remark in Diodorus belonging to this period (394 B.C.). *‘Ρωμαῖοι . . . Σούτριον μεν ὥρμησαν,* (xiv, 98). Nepi lies some 10 km. east of Sutri and the fortunes of the two towns have always been coupled together. Livy describes them jointly as the gateway of Etruria, ‘velut claustra inde portaeque’ (6, 9, 4). Both control natural routes connecting Rome with central and northern Etruria, routes which were later to be taken by two major Roman roads, the Via Amerina, through Nepi, and the Via Cassia, past Sutri.

[3] Diod. xiv, 117: Livy, 6, 3. Livy records a similar incident in 386 B.C., when Furius Camillus had again to recover the two towns from the Etruscans. But this second recapture is perhaps a duplication of the first, since Diodorus only mentions the one incident.

[4] Diodorus refers to Sutri as *ἀποικίαν* at the time of its recapture by Furius Camillus (which he places in 390 B.C. (xiv, 117)), though Livy in his account of it only uses the phrase, ‘socios populi Romani’ (6, 3, 2 : 6, 9, 12). But Velleius Paterculus (1, 14) places the colonisation of Sutri in 383 B.C., followed 10 years later by that of Nepi. Livy, however, assigns the colonisation of Nepi to that year (383 B.C.), making no mention of when Sutri was colonised (6, 21, 4). In 210 B.C. he lists Sutri among the 12 Latin colonies who refuse aid to Rome (27, 9, 7).

[5] Livy, 9, 32–36.

[6] Livy, 27, 9, 7; 29, 15.

[7] Appian, *B.C.*, 5, 31.

[8] See the introduction to the section on Sutri in *CIL*, xi, p. 489.

[9] Cf. *CIL*, xi, 3254 : Pliny, *H.N.*, 3, 51. If it was a triumviral colony, this would account for the otherwise puzzling CONIVNCTA which appears in the title. Sutri is occasionally credited with an Augustan colony, too, on the basis of a restored inscription found at Vicus Matrini (*CIL*, xi, 3322). Parallels are rare, however, for the order of words, AVGVSTA IVLIA, in the proposed restoration :—

[COLONIA CONIVNCTA]
AV]GVSTA IVLI[A SVTRINA
A]QVAM VICANIS [MATRINIS DAT

In other inscriptions of Augustan colonies, the word order is almost always IVLIA AVGVSTA (cf. Dessau, *ILS*, III, 2, pp. 666–667). An alternative restoration is given in Bull. d. Inst., 1864, p. 107 (cf. *ILS*, 122) :—

AV]GVSTA IVLI[A DRVSI F DIVI AUGUSTI
A]QVAM VICANIS [VICI MATRINI S P DAT

[10] Strabo, 5, 2, 9. It is classed together with Arretium, Perusia and Vulsinii, which are distinguished from the smaller towns like Blera, Ferentum, Falerii, Faliscum, Nepi and Statonia.

[11] Dedications to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 144) and to Caracalla (A.D. 212), recorded on two inscriptions from the town, confirm that it continued to flourish under the Empire (*CIL*, xi, 3249 and 3250).

By virtue of its strong position on the Via Cassia, it became the outpost of Rome against the north in the post-classical period and has continued to be occupied, with varying fortunes, right up to the present day. For a fuller account of its later history, see p. 121.

(*ii*) *The Surviving Remains* (fig. 3, p. 67)

The Town. The only visible remains of the ancient town are parts of its defences, together with a few drainage *cuniculi* which open in the sides of the narrow, isolated spur on which it stands. The site has been continuously occupied ever since; little is likely to have survived inside the town itself and what little there is lies concealed by the present buildings.

A few traces of the walls are to be seen, incorporated in those of the later medieval town, or in the modern repairs to those walls. They were constructed of large blocks of tufa (*c.* 58 cm. square × 1.16 m. long), laid dry, in alternate courses of headers and stretchers (pl. XI, *a*), and are generally dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.;[12] but they could have been built by either the Etruscans or the Romans. Apart from occasional loose blocks re-used by the later builders, there are two intact sections of ancient walling on the south side of the town and further remains, but of foundations only, near the present west gate, indicating thereby how large the town was. In one case seven to eight courses are still visible, in the other somewhat fewer.[13]

At the west end of the town there is a wide defensive ditch across the neck of the spur, which may have been excavated at the same time as the walls were built. But since there is nothing by which to date it, it may even be earlier than the walls, or alternatively it could be the work of the medieval or renaissance fortifiers of Sutri.

The modern town possesses three gates, one at the west end (Porta Morona), one on the south side (Porta Vecchia), as well as an entrance ramp without a gate,[14] and one at the east end (Porta Romana, the name signifying nothing more than the gate for the road to Rome). A fourth gate on the north side of the town, towards its east end, was already blocked in 1837 (Porta Furia, or di Furio Camillo).[15] This gate was clearly a predecessor of the Porta Romana, which has succeeded it. It had a single carriageway and its arch, which no longer survives, sprang from a pier of large tufa blocks on one side and, on the other, from the natural rock face. Lugli ascribes it to the second half of the second century B.C. Though there is no visible evidence of ancient gateways at any other point on the circuit of the walls, it is fairly certain that there was one at the west end of the town, from which began the Via Ciminia, and the Porta Vecchia (medieval, as it now stands) may also have been an ancient exit.

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[12] M. E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy*, p. 75; G. Lugli, *La Tecnica Edilizia Romana*, vol. I, p. 277.

[13] Nibby, in 1837, saw 'many traces of these walls, . . . especially on the south side' of the town (iii, p. 140, 1st edit.). Dennis mentions 'fine fragments,' but only on the south side (i, p. 64). Tomassetti, in 1913, saw remains on the south side, near the west gate, and on the north side near the Porta Furia (iii, p. 174).

[14] Dennis implies that it had a gate in his day, 1883 (i, p. 66), and Tomassetti specifies it as a single, round arch, without defences (iii, 1913, p. 193).

[15] Nibby, iii, p. 140. The presence of a 16th–17th century bastion beside the Porta Romana indicates probably that the Porta Furia had already been superseded by then.

Outside the town there are considerable signs of Roman life (e.g. the amphitheatre, many tombs and large numbers of buildings in the countryside), but representing the pre-Roman period there are only one early cremation burial and six, or perhaps seven, chamber tombs (see below, p. 73) : nor could any Etruscan material from Sutri be located in the Viterbo museum or in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. This paucity of archaeological evidence is slightly surprising and strongly suggests that the Etruscan town was either of no great size, or of no long standing before the advent of the Romans.

The Amphitheatre (pls. XII, *a*, *b*; XIII, *a*). At the east end of the isolated hill, which stands in the valley to the south of Sutri, is a small amphitheatre, entirely cut out of the tufa and surprisingly well preserved.[16] It is oval in shape, the axes of the arena measuring 50 m. east-west by 40 m. north-south, and has about 17 rows of seats, divided into three tiers.[17] One cannot be certain of the exact number of rows, as the seats on the south side of the amphitheatre are badly worn and likewise those of the upper tier on the north side. There were two entrances, leading into the arena under the seats, at either end of the long axis. The one at the west is now walled up at its outer end, while the one at the east has largely collapsed. From each of these entrances a pair of lateral stairways led up, to north and south, through the tufa, to the middle tier of seats, whence one could ascend or descend to the upper and lower tiers (pl. XIV, *b*). There was also a pair of miniature stairways in the centre of the north and south sides, on the short axis of the amphitheatre, leading up to the lower tier from a corridor which encircles the arena at ground level (pl. XIV, *a*). From this corridor 10 fairly evenly spaced doorways also gave access to the arena itself.

One peculiarity of the amphitheatre is that the middle tier of seats contained eight somewhat grander, individual seats in semi-circular recesses, 1.80 m. wide, four on each side and situated at regular intervals. There is, too, a larger platform, or stand, 5.70 m. wide by 5 m. deep, on the north side of the arena, in the lowest tier of seats, which interrupts one of the recesses mentioned above and is presumably, therefore, a later addition to the amphitheatre, made after its construction. Various niches have also been cut in the rear wall, or rock face, which crowns the upper tier of seats on the north side : some are comparatively modern, but some resemble the semi-circular niches which often occur above tombs in the area; but none of them have ever in fact contained burials.

There are traces of a base-moulding and cornice to the high podium which surrounds the arena, and there were engaged, rock-cut columns at intervals along the rock wall behind the upper tier of seats. But they are so badly worn that it is difficult to make out any details. Sestieri also found some fragments of marble columns, which he assigns to a colonnade crowning the south side of the amphitheatre.

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[16] The best description, with drawings and photographs, is by Sestieri, in *Palladio*, iii, 1939 (no. 6), pp. 241–248.

[17] A narrow *ambulacrum*, running all the way round the amphitheatre, divides the lower tier from the middle tier of seats. A corresponding *ambulacrum* dividing the middle and upper tiers exists to-day only at the west end. There may have been a similar one at the east end too, now destroyed. But it never continued along the north and south sides, where the seats ran unbroken from the middle tier to the top of the amphitheatre (cf. pls. XII, *a*, *b*; XIII, *a*). The plan published by Sestieri is incorrect in this respect, as it shows this upper *ambulacrum* as encircling the whole amphitheatre. But for convenience I have retained his division of the seats into three tiers.

The date of the amphitheatre remains an open question, since there is no definite, reliable internal evidence on which one can depend.[18] The Romans are known to have borrowed gladiatorial contests from the Etruscans, but there is nothing whatever to indicate that they also borrowed the form of the amphitheatre;[19] there is no reason to suppose that this one is the Etruscan prototype of those in Campania. The amphitheatre of Pompeii is the earliest dated example of such a building (*c.* 80 B.C.). Rome did not have one until *c.* 50 B.C., and then only of wood,[20] and it was not until 29 B.C. that the first stone one was built there.[21] It seems probable that Sutri would follow Rome, rather than vice versa: but beyond that one cannot go with certainty. The most that one can say, therefore, is that it is probably not earlier than Augustan and may be later in date. This would agree well with a period of apparent prosperity in the town at the beginning of the Empire. For that is the time to which the beginnings of the main cemetery can be dated (716800).

The Mithraeum (?).[22] Immediately opposite the town, in the north side of the isolated hill at the east end of which lies the amphitheatre, there is a long rock-cut chamber which is now a small, Christian church, dedicated to La Madonna del Parto. A small, square ante-chamber precedes the main church and a further chamber opens on the north side, at its east end, both of them likewise cut out of the tufa. The church, about 21 m. long by 5.50 m. wide, is divided into three aisles by two rows of tufa pillars, 10 on each side, though it is larger towards the east end, where the last four pillars are more widely spaced. An unusual feature of the remaining 16 pillars is that they do not rise from the floor of the church, but stand on continuous, high podia, which run down each side of the central nave, connecting the pillars together. These two podia project slightly into the nave, forming a sort of shelf, or bench, along either side, and there is a second, similar pair of benches, which run along the outer wall of each side-aisle. These are of the same height as the podia themselves and are only separated from them by a narrow passageway, since the aisles are less than a metre wide. Pillars, podia and benches are all cut from the living tufa.

It is these features that have suggested that the church was originally a mithraeum, before being converted by the early Christians to their own use.[23] For, if the benches of the side-aisles and the podia were originally joined together, and were not separated as they are now, they would have formed comparatively wide, continuous platforms, stretching from the side walls to the central nave and flanking it very much in the manner of mithraic couches.

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[18] Most of the earlier writers regarded it as Etruscan, Dennis included (i, p. 70). Nibby considered it to be Augustan (iii, p. 143). Middleton, echoed by Ashby, assigned it to the Flavian period (Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii, p. 76. Anderson, Spiers and Ashby, *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*, p. 91). Sestieri (*loc. cit.*), after listing previous views, dates it to the decade, 40–30 B.C., on the grounds of the architectural details, the shape of the 10 doorways into the arena and the general simplicity of the design. But neither the doorways nor what is to be seen of the details of the mouldings show necessarily early traits or Etruscan affinities, while the simplicity he refers to need not indicate an early stage in the development of the amphitheatre as an architectural form, but may equally well be due to the small scale of this particular example and the fact of it being entirely cut out of the rock.

[19] The stands for spectators shown in the wall-paintings of the 'Tomba delle Bighe,' Tarquinia, are of wood and seem to be square or rectangular in plan, rather than round (G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, pl. CXV, 2).

[20] Pliny, *H.N.*, 36, 24, 14 (= 15, 24, 117).

[21] By Statilius Taurus: Dio Cassius, 51, 23; Suet., *Aug.* 29.

[22] There is a description, with drawings and a photograph, by Frothingham, in *A.J.A.*, 1889, p. 322. Sestieri also includes a plan and photograph in his discussion of it (*Bull. della Comm. Arch. Com. di Roma*, lxii, 1934, part 2, pp. 33–36).

[23] Notably Sestieri (*loc. cit.*) and F. Cumont (see note 12 to the article by Sestieri).

The only evidence of date in this underground building are the frescoes of the church, belonging to the fourteenth to fifteenth century A.D. (pl. XXII, *a*). The tombs in the ante-chamber (and one in the central nave) are now empty, but are clearly Christian and related to the church itself. They are not Etruscan.[24] There is no evidence, on the other hand, to show whether the church is a new creation or an adaptation of an earlier building.

In favour of a pre-existing mithraeum, it is certainly true that the building would have closely resembled a mithraeum, if the side-aisles were originally wide, continuous couches and not passageways. The presence of the pillars is no proof to the contrary, for they occur in other mithraea.[25] And the present narrow benches along the sides of the central nave would then have become the customary low shelves, which run along the front of the wide couches of the banqueters, or worshippers. The grave in the nave would have been a re-used sacrificial, or ritual, mithraic pit. Moreover the supposed mithraeum would have really been a cave, as it was intended to be in the ritual. In support of such a theory, a relief of Mithras slaying the bull is said to have been found at Sutri.[26]

The main argument against it having been a mithraeum is the improbability of the Christians continuing to use the same building for their own purposes, an act for which there would be no parallel. Elsewhere, they preferred instead to destroy the mithraea,[27] though sometimes establishing Christian churches nearby.[28] Because of this, it seems much more likely that the church was an original creation, though of uncertain date, and not an adaptation of an earlier, Roman mithraeum.

The Inscriptions. The inscriptions of Sutri have mostly been published in *CIL* (xi, 3243–3280 and 7546–7551a) and it is not within the scope of this article to comment on them. But there are three inscriptions which are not included.

(i) A fragment of a frieze (from a mausoleum?), depicting a laurel branch in fairly crude, flat relief, below which are a bead-and-reel and an egg-and-tongue moulding, both deeply cut, and, along the lower edge of the fragment, the tops of seven letters of an inscription (pl. XVII, *b*). White marble, 25 cm. high by 49 cm. long; fragment broken on three sides. Good lapidary capitals, first to second century A.D. Sutri, in the town hall, where the local antiquarium is. Provenience unknown.

. . .]CCIUS P F [. . .

(ii) A funerary altar with an inscription on the front face (pl. XVIII, *b*). Hard tufa or a form of peperino. Overall height, 1.22 m., and width, 59 cm. Lettering roughly incised with lines of even height, except for the last line, which is smaller. Second to third century A.D.? At Casale

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[24] As Dennis, for example, thought (i, p. 69).

[25] E.g. the mithraea of 'Planta Pedis' and 'degli Animali' at Ostia, where the pillars are those of an earlier building; the mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla, in Rome; and that of Dura-Europos, where the pillars are contemporary with the mithraeum (*Scavi di Ostia*, II, *I Mitrei*, pp. 77 and 87; *Not. Scav.*, 1912, pp. 319 ff.; *Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report*, 1933–1935, pp. 62 ff.).

[26] F. Cumont, *Textes et Mon. fig. relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii, p. 487, no. 98 bis. The mithraic relief, built into a wall in the garden of the Villa Savorelli, which occupies the top of the hill above, was not found at Sutri, but imported from elsewhere.

[27] That below S. Prisca, in Rome, was deliberately filled with earth.

[28] E.g. S. Prisca and S. Clemente, in Rome. The so-called ritual pit in the nave would in this case have been cut as a grave from the first.

S. Angelo, on the road Capranica to Ronciglione (688854). Provenience unknown; presumed to have been found locally.

M LUCILIUS
SP F MAXIMUS
FECIT
LUCILIAE SP F
SECUNDAE
MATRI SUAE
BENE MERENTI

(iii) A funerary altar with an inscription on the front face (pl. XVIII, *c*). White marble. An ornamental cornice and base, with mouldings; but no patera or jug on the side faces. Overall height, 87 cm., width, 47 cm., and thickness, 40 cm. Good lettering, running right to the edge of the stone: there is no moulding framing the inscription face. In Ronciglione, in the house, or convent, of a group of nuns, the 'Maestre Pie,' in the old *borgo*. Provenience unknown.

DIIS MANIBUS
P ARRANI P F SECUNDI
ṾICOLI POTHI AUG
ẠNNAEAE CIPASI Ṣ

L.3—either VI or M.

L.4—the right, oblique stroke of the A is visible, and it is not an M; enough of the top of the S is visible to make the reading fairly certain.

Lines 3 and 4 present some difficulty at first sight. I am grateful to Miss Joyce Reynolds, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, who has kindly suggested the following interpretation of them, regarding the inscription as commemorating a list of three people.

M(ARCI) COLI POTHI AUG(USTALIS)
ANNAEAE CIPASI S(ERVAE)

The names Colius, Pothus, Annaea and Cepasius (here mis-spelt) are all attested and *augustalis* would be a suitable title for a freedman. But the name Annaea strongly suggests a free (or freed) woman and '*s*(*ervae*)' is therefore only a tentative suggestion.

(iv) A fourth inscription is already recorded in *CIL*, vi, 17583, but it was then in Rome and the last line of the inscription is omitted. It is cut on the front face of a marble cippus, which is now to be found at Casale Campi S. Eusebio, 733837 (in fact, just beyond the boundaries of the map, fig. 5), 3½ km. from Ronciglione, at Km. 25 on the present 'Via Cassia Antica' or 'Via Cimina.' The inscription in full reads as follows:

D M S
FABIAE
AURAE
MATRI OPTIM[O
Q. FABIU[S
PERSICU[S
FECIT

Mausolea, Tombs and Graves.[29] With the exception of a probable early Etruscan cremation burial (739788) and of three Roman mausolea near Lago di Vico (684871, 689872), together with a few other suspected small mausolea or ploughed-out graves, now destroyed and represented only by a slight spread of debris, all the remaining tombs in the area consist either of single niches (*loculi*) or of small, rectangular chambers, cut out of the tufa. They lie to the south and east of Sutri, within a radius of 2½ km.[30] They have long since been robbed of their contents and there is, therefore, no means of accurately dating them. But some of them seem to be Etruscan; some are Roman; and some belong to the sub-Roman or early Middle Ages.

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[29] For a detailed description of each tomb or group of tombs, see the list of sites, p. 98.

[30] The two small groups immediately west of the town are so close as to be clearly related to it (706806, 708806). One tomb lies 4 km. south of Sutri, 729764.

Several of the chamber tombs have features for which there are good parallels in the necropolis of Cerveteri. In two of them, for example (702800, 732791) (fig. 4), there are ornamental 'beds,' or high podia, with a raised, triangular gable at each end, which are exactly similar to a particular type of funerary couch found in the Banditaccia necropolis and apparently made for female burials. There this type of couch lasted from the seventh to the early fourth century B.C.[31] In one instance at Sutri (702800), the 'bed' has a *loculus* let horizontally into the front of it. This *loculus* would seem to be a secondary feature, particularly as it is off-centre. A later re-use of the tomb would also account for two sockets in the apexes of the gables for a 'ridge-post' running the length of the 'bed,' a characteristic which does not appear in the second tomb or in any example at Cerveteri.

The second Sutri tomb of this type (732791) has a broad, flat moulding outlining the front of the 'bed' and this recurs in two other tombs (721793, 723793), decorating this time the blank area below *loculi* in the side walls. The moulding is in exactly the same style, however, and connects all three tombs together as one group. Similar mouldings occur frequently at Cerveteri.[32]

At 721793 there is also a second tomb, adjacent to the one with the moulding, which, although it is devoid of any decoration, has a doorway of typical Etruscan shape, narrower at the top than at the bottom.

A larger tomb, containing eight *loculi* (708788), has neither 'bed' nor moulding, but one of its *loculi* is ornamented instead with two legs in low relief, one at either end, under the *loculus*. At Cerveteri, during the seventh to early fourth centuries, while female burials had 'beds' with gables, males had couches decorated with various forms of sculptured legs in relief and this Sutri tomb would seem to be echoing the same custom. There were also several semi-circular niches with *loculi*, cut in the open rock face nearby, but these probably belonged to the Roman period.

One difference between these Sutri tombs and their parallels at Cerveteri is that, whereas burials in the latter were laid on couches or benches in the tomb itself, in the former they are generally placed in *loculi* hollowed out of the side walls of the tomb. *Loculi* occur at Cerveteri, too, at a slightly later period; at Sutri it may have been a local custom or it may even have been dictated by a softer type of tufa.

Another rock-cut chamber, the 'Grotta d'Orlando' (724796) (pl. XIV, *c*) may also have been an Etruscan tomb. The central pillar and sloping, well-cut roof tell in its favour and the absence of couches or *loculi* could simply be the result of the burials having originally been made in removable sarcophagi. In the lack of more secure proof, however, one cannot be absolutely sure.

Moving on to the Roman period and considering first the main town cemetery,[33] it would be particularly interesting to know the period during which it was in use, as it would also give an indication of when the town was at its most prosperous (pls. XIII, *b*; XVI, *a*, *b*). The only evidence we have is the presence of several

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[31] Cf. *Studi Etruschi*, i, pp. 164–165 and pls. XXIX and XXX—'Tombe dei Letti e dei Sarcofagi' and 'Tomba dei Vasi Greci.'

[32] *Loc. cit.*, pls. XLV, XLVII, XLVIII, *a*, XLIX, *a*, L, *b*.

[33] By the main cemetery is meant the large group of tombs beside the Via Cassia as one approached Sutri from Rome (716800). This group is the only one which seems to have been used intensively over a considerable period, though there are also other small groups related to the town (706806, 708806, 711802, 713802, 715805, 718798).

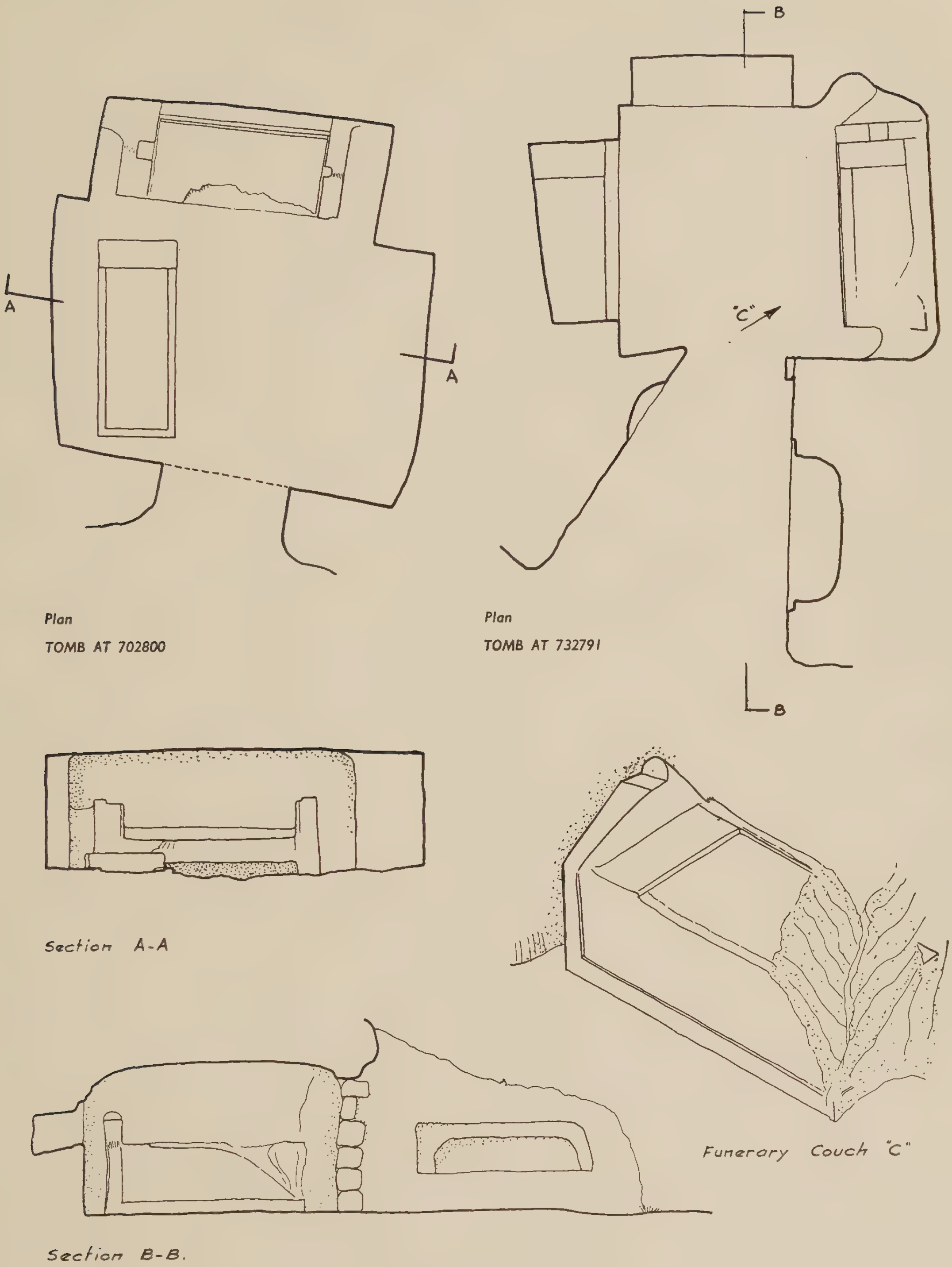
B
A
A
"C"
Plan
TOMB AT 702800
Plan
TOMB AT 732791
B
Section A-A
Funerary Couch "C"
Section B-B.

FIG. 4. TOMBS AT 702800 AND 732791 (Approx. scale 1:75)

columbaria. Cremation seems to have been practised by the Romans for a limited time, from the beginning of the Empire to the second half of the second century A.D. It then went out of fashion and eventually ceased altogether with the adoption of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Since the *columbaria* in the cemetery occupy a well-placed, central position, it is probable that the majority of the other tombs are either roughly contemporary with them or post-date them. Allowing for a few isolated, earlier burials, therefore, the cemetery probably began sometime in the late Republic or early Empire, which would agree well with the founding of a new colony at Sutri towards the end of the first century B.C. There is no indication of when it passed out of use.

A few tombs in the countryside can probably be related to neighbouring Roman sites, though one can never be entirely certain of most such attributions.[34] One group in particular is clearly connected with a small Christian chapel, called nowadays 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785; see p. 127, and pls. XX, *b*; XXII, *b*). The only dating evidence for the chapel is a faded twelfth to thirteenth century fresco. But on the ridge above was a large Roman villa, which may have survived as a *fundus* into early medieval times, and this, coupled with the presence of the tombs, suggests that the chapel in its present form may go back to a much earlier building on the same spot, possibly sub-Roman in date;[35] the tombs are mostly single, semi-circular niches, of which there are many examples in the main Roman cemetery. These particular ones, however, are undoubtedly Christian, not pagan.

Two tombs east of Sutri contain one *loculus* each, high in the rear wall of a small, square chamber, and their close similarity connects them together as a pair (732804, 739799). On the back of one of these *loculi* are scratched two distinct, upright graffito crosses. It is doubtful whether they are original, however, as the form of these tombs can be paralleled in Faliscan examples.

Finally, there is a group of large tombs south of the modern cemetery, beside the Via Cassia, consisting of several, regularly cut, wide chambers, each containing simple, rectangular *loculi* in rows along the walls, in one or two tiers (718798). In their layout they resemble very much the catacombs of Rome and their plan is dictated by the same motives, to economise ground by accommodating in a small area as many inhumation burials as possible. Such a plan suggests strongly that they date from the early Christian period. They are known locally as the catacombs of Sutri.

To sum up, then, there is the one early cremation burial of the eighth century B.C. and several probable Etruscan chamber-tombs, of the seventh to the early fourth centuries B.C., assuming the parallels at Cerveteri to be more or less contemporary. Of the Roman period, we have a single large group of tombs, forming a town cemetery, beginning probably in the late first century B.C., in addition to a few Roman mausolea and various suspected graves in the countryside, together with many examples of rock-cut tombs, generally individual niches, of which some at least are likely to be Roman. Lastly there are some of these rock-cut tombs which belong either certainly or probably to the early Christian period. What one does not know for certain is for how long into the Christian period such burials would have continued to have been made in the countryside.

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[34] E.g. 729764, probably to one of the larger sites nearby, rather than to the adjacent site, which is comparatively small; 729798 to 728798 (?); 734798 to 733798 (?); the 3 mausolea by Lago di Vico to one or other of the two large neighbouring villas.

[35] For a discussion of this whole question, see p. 106.

III. THE ANCIENT ROAD SYSTEMS (figs. 1, 5, 6, pp. 64, 78, 82)

(*i*) *Foreword*

Sutri stands in a natural gap between two groups of volcanic hills, the Monti Cimini to the north and to the south the Monti Sabatini, or, to be precise, the spur of the Monti Sabatini that encloses the north end of Lago di Bracciano (fig. 1, p. 64). The gap is comparatively narrow, but through it lies the only easy line of communications east-west across these hills, which otherwise present a nearly impassable barrier. From its foundation, therefore, the importance of the town has lain in the control which it exercises over this route.

Within the gap itself, the possible routes which any road can choose are limited by deep river gorges eroded down through the soft, volcanic deposits with which the area is covered. These gorges radiate out from Lago di Vico and from Monte Calvi, running north and south across the gap, except in the centre of it, where they were formed by two or three streams flowing east from the watershed, which lies some 5–8 km. west of Sutri (pl. IX, *a*, *b*). It is in the centre of the gap, therefore, that one finds the roads, both ancient and modern, that pass through it.

Besides the gorges, another important geographical feature which affected the area in antiquity was the *Silva Ciminia*—'*invia atque horrenda*.'[36] This forest covered the whole of the Monti Cimini in prehistoric and Etruscan times, extending as far as Sutri itself in all probability, and rendered them a yet more impenetrable barrier. One can assume, too, that the Monti Sabatini were also probably heavily wooded in the pre-Roman period and, although it has been claimed, probably correctly, that the summits of both them and the Monti Cimini were in fact inhabited from very early times,[37] it seems to have been only the Romans who eventually cleared them and brought them into cultivation, running a new road, the Via Ciminia, up and over the latter.

(*ii*) *The Etruscan Roads*

1. *The cross-country road Nepi–Sutri–Blera*

Although the Sutri gap must have been in use as a natural pass between the Monti Cimini and the northern end of the Monti Sabatini ever since prehistoric times (and the finding of two isolated flint blades near the town confirms this conjecture; see 705802, 708788, *ad. fin.*), it was only with the advent of the Etruscans that a stabilised road system was developed, of which it is possible to recover some traces.

[36] Livy, 9, 36, 1.

[37] *Monumenti Antichi*, iv, 1894, cc. 44–47 and 95–104.

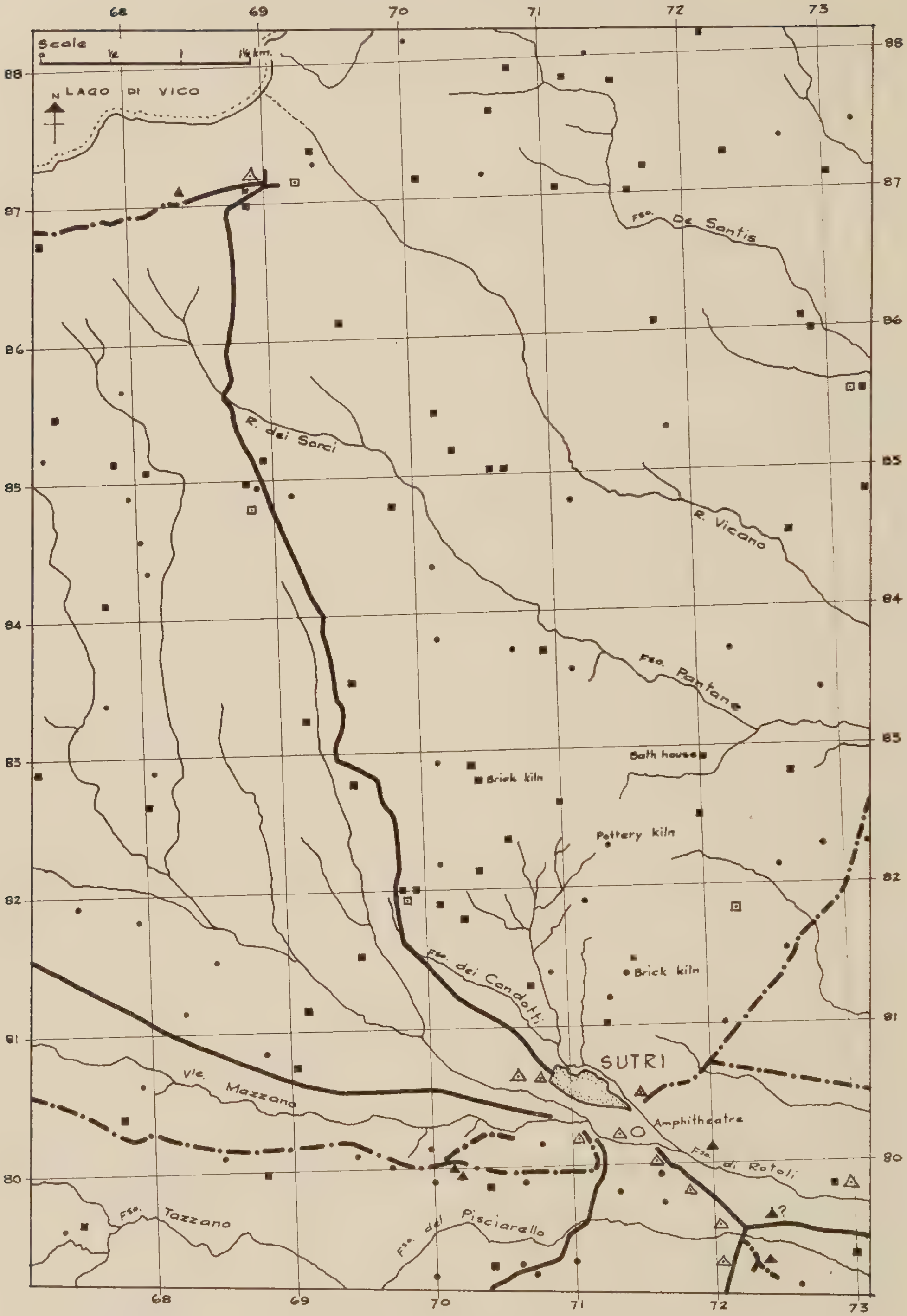
Scale
0
½
1
1½ km.
N
LAGO DI VICO
68
69
70
71
72
73
88
87
86
85
84
83
82
81
80
R. dei Sorci
Fso. De Santis
R. Vicano
Fso. Pantano
Bath house
Brick kiln
Pottery kiln
Fso. dei Condotti
Brick kiln
SUTRI
Amphitheatre
Fso. di Rotoli
Vle. Mazzano
Fso. Tazzano
Fso. del Pisciarello
?

FIG. 5. ROMAN ROADS AND SITES IN THE COUNTRY TO THE NORTH OF SUTRI (cf. Fig. 6)
(Scale 1 : 50,000. For symbols, see Fig. 2)

One Etruscan road connected Nepi and the central Ager Faliscus on the east with Sutri, Blera and the hinterland of Tarquinii on the west. After leaving Nepi, the road followed the same ridge without a break as far as Sutri itself, where it descended to cross the Fosso dei Condotti through a broad, deep cutting opposite the east end of the town. The cutting was probably enlarged in Roman times, and this stretch of the road remained in use until comparatively recently, when the modern road between Nepi and Sutri, which follows the next ridge to the south, took its place. It is still used as a country track over much of its course.

Apart from the cutting itself, the line of the ancient road can only be distinguished briefly some 2 kilometres east of Sutri (737805), where a wide, shallow, rock-cut trench leads it down onto lower ground just north of the ridge-crest for a short distance, before it rises once more onto the back of the ridge through another similar, but shorter, rock-cut trench; 200 m. further east it runs through a small, projecting knoll of tufa (742802). But beyond that, it merges with the modern track and no separate trace of the ancient line survives. The Nepi end of this road was explored in 1957.[38]

The continuation of this road westwards from Sutri began with a deep, narrow cutting immediately south of the town (711801), taking the road up onto the ridge which runs east-west between the Valle Mazzano and the Fosso del Pisciarello. The cutting plunges obliquely into the cliff face and in the best preserved section of it, at the bottom, has the typical, slightly overhanging sides, distinctive of Etruscan work (pl. XIX, *a*). About half-way up, however, the sides have partly collapsed and it was probably this that caused it to be abandoned in antiquity, for a Roman cutting runs on exactly parallel lines only 50 m. to the east (pl. XIX, *b*). Though it served a different road—a private, Roman, paved road leading to a villa 2 km. south of Sutri[39]—the Roman engineers would not have made a separate cutting, if the original Etruscan one had still been considered usable. Once up on the ridge, the Etruscan road had simply to turn west along it to follow it to the watershed. Beyond the watershed its line was not pursued.

This ridge is the natural corridor through the gap, since it is the only one that runs without a break from the water-shed, past Sutri and out into the open country to the east, and it would not be surprising, therefore, if it had once carried a prehistoric trackway, prior to the arrival of the Etruscan road, although no certain trace of such a trackway can be detected.

The line of the Etruscan road is only evident at one point (698801), where it can be seen as a wide, fairly deep cutting, rising gently over 200–300 m. through a wood, about 1,500 m. west of the point where it originally ascends onto the ridge (pl. IX, *a*, *b*).

At the same point, but 50 m. to the north, a second track can be seen running through the wood. It has the form of a slightly sunken road, 3 m. wide and 1–2 m. deep, and continues westwards for 2 km., or as far as the wood stretches. It keeps to the crest of the ridge the whole way and is laid out as a series of straight sections, running directly from one point to the next. It is clear that it has been deliberately made, or at least systematised, at some stage, and the Roman period seems the most likely time at which this would have occurred. Moreover, 500 m. to the east is the head of a long cutting (703803), now blocked by falls, which climbs up onto the ridge from the Valle Mazzano, coming from the direction of Sutri and ascending obliquely up the cliff face, sometimes as a cutting and sometimes as a terrace hewn out of the rock. Having reached the ridge, it continues west towards the wood, with a secondary, probably medieval, branch (701801), leading south towards the head of a dell which runs down to the modern road to Bassano. In other words, the ridgeway apparently remained in use during the Roman period, but a new route up from the Valle Mazzano had to be devised, when the original Etruscan cutting immediately south of Sutri was abandoned. The modern successor to the Roman ridgeway follows a line a little to the south of it as far as the western limits of the wood (678803), but there it merges with it and obliterates it.

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[38] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 180.

[39] See *The Roman Roads*, 7, p. 88.

2. *The road from Sutri towards Veii*

It would be surprising if there was not a road connecting Sutri with Veii, more directly than via Nepi, but traces of such a road have either been obliterated by cultivation or have disappeared by incorporation in the succeeding Roman road system. It must have run south-eastwards as far as Monterosi and it could then have joined the Etruscan predecessor of the Via Amerina somewhere east of that point or have continued more or less on the line of the later Via Cassia as far as the junction of that road with the Via Amerina at Baccanae. The former alternative is perhaps more likely, assuming that the latter route leads across terrain that would have been naturally swampy.[40]

On leaving Sutri, it probably took the same cutting south of the town as was taken by the road which led west through the gap towards Blera (711801) (although there may have been an Etruscan predecessor of the cutting through which the Via Cassia ran, behind the modern cemetery (718798)). Once up on the ridge, it would have swung to the east in the former case, following it as far as the later fork of the Cassia with the Roman paved road to the villa at Casale Castellaccio (722786); for this road see p. 89). There it might either have continued on the line of the major road or have turned south along the route to the villa, passing beyond it and, where the later Roman paved road ended, pursuing a course onwards towards the south-east, rejoining the line of the Cassia just before Lago di Monterosi. This is a perfectly feasible route : but since it lies across low ground, considerations of drainage may have dictated the choice of the higher ground taken by the Via Cassia (presumably for the same reason).

Of the eight known, or presumed, Etruscan tombs in the area five, or perhaps six, seem to be related to this road from Sutri towards the south-east, but they give no assistance in determining which of the alternative routes the road actually took, for three of them lie on or near the southern alternative leading past Casale Castellaccio (721793, 723793), while two, or three if one includes the so-called Grotta d'Orlando, lie closer to the northern one (732791, 739788; 724796 (?)).

Since its route is so conjectural, no attempt has been made to show this road on the map.

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[40] Cf. *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 179.

(*iii*) *The Roman Roads*

The Roman road system in the neighbourhood of Sutri was more extensive than the preceding Etruscan one and it has left more tangible traces on the ground. As a quick look at the map will show (figs. 5, p. 78, and 6, p. 82), besides the major trunk road, the Via Cassia, passing through the Sutri gap on its way north from Rome into central and northern Etruria, there was also the Via Ciminia, crossing the Monti Cimini from Sutri to near Viterbo, and cross-country tracks connecting Sutri with Nepi and, after 241 B.C., with Falerii Novi. In addition to these major roads, for through traffic, there must have been an immense number of minor roads, ridgeways, cart-tracks and so on, serving the multitude of individual sites. Of these nearly all traces have disappeared (they would seldom have made much impression on the landscape in the first place); but two of the larger villas seem to have had their own private, paved roads leading to them—the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785) and probably the villa at Casale Castellaccio too (722786)—and of these two roads it has been possible to recover the course.

In dealing with each of these roads, it has seemed best to separate the detailed description of the actual course followed by the road on the ground from a more general introduction, dealing with its purpose and character. Accordingly, a general account begins each section, followed by the more detailed description.

1. *The Via Cassia*

The Via Cassia ran from Rome to Luna, via Baccanae (Baccano), Sutrium, Vicus Matrini, Forum Cassii (S. Maria di Forcassi, near Vetralla), Volsinii, Arretium and Florence.[41] It post-dates the construction of the Via Amerina,[42] built sometime after 240 B.C., being in part a new creation and in part incorporating earlier, pre-existing roads, where these could be conveniently re-used.[43]

South of Sutri, it may have been following, at least partially, the line of an earlier Etruscan road, connecting Sutri with Veii (see p. 80); but west of the town it chooses a line of its own, selecting the ridge to the north of the one which its Etruscan predecessor pursued, and it is in this stretch that its course is best preserved. A wide terrace and cutting circumvent a slight rise; high embankments ensure it proper drainage; and at one point twin *aggeres* flank it, now 13 m. and now 20 m. apart, marking it out as a major trunk road. Little of its paving is to be seen *in situ*, but there are many loose blocks to be found belonging to it; these are all of a high-grade, hard *selce*, of uniform size, rounded, smooth on top and well-pointed underneath, to bind firmly with the foundations below.

For convenience, this account of the road begins from the town of Monterosi, 10 km. south-east of Sutri, dealing briefly with the first part of it, but describing it in greater detail as soon as it enters the limits of the map area (fig. 6, p. 82).

From Monterosi the ancient road passed to the west of the Lago di Monterosi (whereas the modern road, of relatively recent creation, skirts the east side of it), and after 2½ km. in a north-westerly direction, more or less following the line of a present-day cart-track, crossed the Fosso della Stanga and turned a little east of north to cross the stream of the Fosso Valdiano. At the end

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[41] Not the full list of points along its route, for which see the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

[42] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 188; *JRS*, xlvii, 1957, pp. 139–143.

[43] *PBSR*, *loc. cit.*

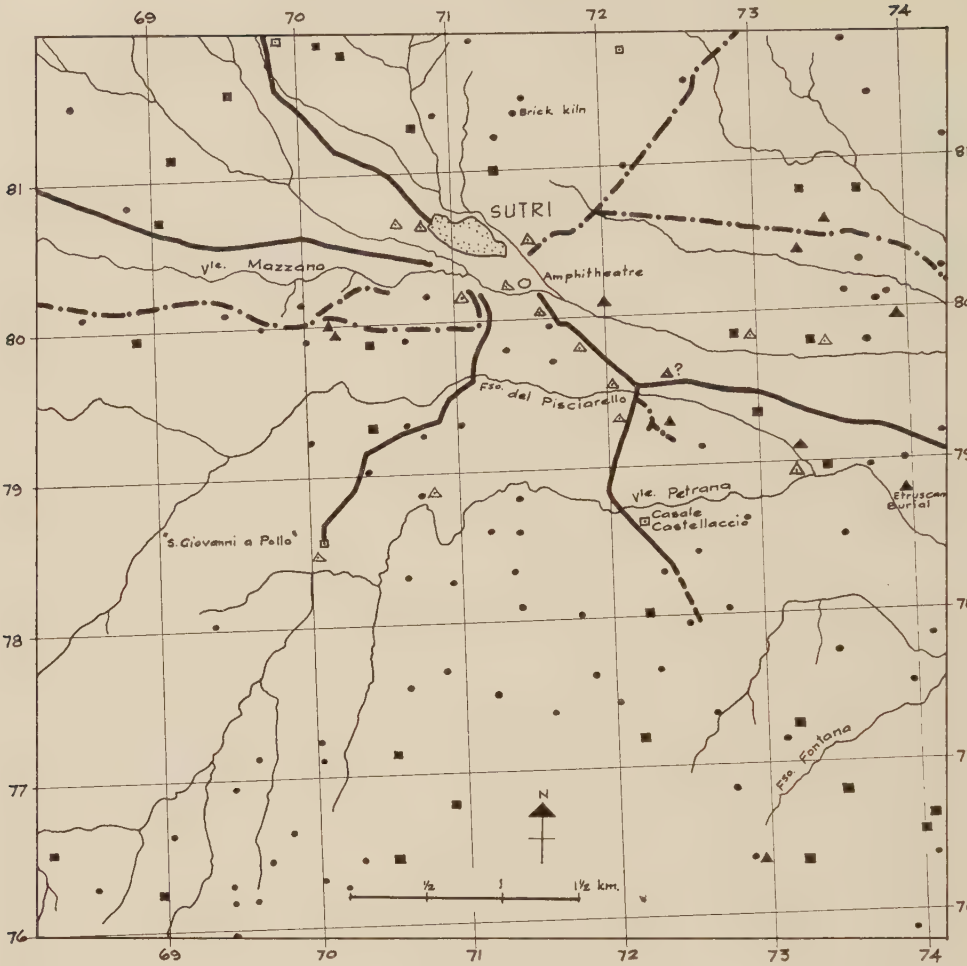
69
70
71
72
73
74
81
80
79
78
77
76
Brick kiln
SUTRI
Amphitheatre
vle. Mazzano
Fso. del Pisciarello
?
vle. Petrana
Casale Castellaccio
S. Giovanni a Pollo
Etruscan burial
Fso. Fontana
N
½
1
1½ km.

FIG. 6. ROMAN ROADS AND SITES IN THE COUNTRY TO THE SOUTH OF SUTRI (cf. Fig. 5)
(Scale 1 : 50,000. For symbols, see Fig. 2)

of the last century there were traces of a bridge to be seen at this point, of which nothing is now visible.[44]

Across the Fosso and the modern road, the ancient Via Cassia mounted the ridge beyond and, swinging north-west again, continued along it for just over a kilometre, gradually converging once more with its modern successor.

Just before entering the map area, the two roads unite (Km. 46) and from there on continue together for about 2½ km. along the same ridge. Paving blocks are said by the locals to have been ploughed out, 5–15 m. south of the present road, over a length of 200 m., opposite the fork with the road to Nepi (738792). But, for the most part, to-day's line must overlie the ancient one.

The two roads diverge again shortly after the fork with the road to Bassano, when the Roman Via Cassia swung a little to the right, to make for the ancient cutting which is concealed behind the modern cemetery (718798). The cutting is wide and deep and takes the road, with a bend to the west, through a narrow spur which would otherwise block the way. A few paving stones lie in the field at its south end. Once through this spur, the road ran past an impressive group of tombs, the major ancient cemetery of the town, cut in the rock face which flanked its west side, and found itself approaching the amphitheatre of Sutri.

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[44] A bridge is shown on an unpublished map compiled by Angelo Pasqui and Adolfo Cozza, now in the care of the Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria (at the Villa Guilia Museum, in Rome).

At this stage, the road is already in the valley which lies beneath the town and has only to pass the small, isolated hill in which the amphitheatre is cut, in order to reach it (fig. 3, p. 67). All traces of the ancient road have disappeared, however, in this valley and its course can only be located again where it climbs up onto the ridge south-west of Sutri (708804), by which time it is already past the town. The valley is liable to frequent flooding and the Roman paving probably lies buried under several metres of silt, a supposition which is confirmed by some of the ancient tombs cut in the sides of the valley, which are only visible to half their height above the present ground level. (The modern road runs on a high, artificial causeway.)

One problem left unsolved, therefore, is whether the Via Cassia ran along the north, or the south, side of the amphitheatre hill; and another, at what point it entered the town, if at all. These two problems are interrelated. The most reasonable solution would seem to be that it went along the north side of the amphitheatre hill, running below the walls of the town, before crossing the valley again to reach the end of the spur onto which it ascends. The amphitheatre has exits on both sides of the hill and there are the remains of a few, small tombs along the south side of it. Some road, or track, passed that way, therefore. But by going round the north side of the hill, the Via Cassia could have served either of two possible ancient gateways in this part of the town, the Porta Vecchia or the Porta Furia (or both of them), branching off as a paved street up into the town, while the main road remained below under the direct protection and control of the walls.

For its continuation westwards from Sutri, the Via Cassia chose the ridge north of the one selected by its Etruscan predecessor, probably because it provides a more direct route, particularly up near the watershed, for a road interested in going north as quickly as possible and not, as yet, in visiting the various towns along its route, except incidentally.

The road originally mounted on to this ridge at its very end, where it narrows to a slender spur opposite the west end of the town (708714). But quarrying has removed much of the hill at this point, together with the lower part of the course of the ancient road, so that vestigial remains of its track can now be seen beginning in mid-air. (The modern farm-track onto the ridge winds up as best as it can.) Once up, however, its course strikes off straight along the centre of the ridge, still visible as a grass-grown track (pl. IX, *a*, *b*).

Either side of it are the remains of foundations for buildings, cut in the rock. For the spur has once formed the site of a considerable settlement. A rock-cut, square-bottomed ditch isolates the nose of the spur, crossed on an earthen causeway by the modern farm-track, and a second similar, but larger, ditch has been cut across the ridge 350 m. further west, with the remains of tufa walling along its eastern lip (704805). An unusual feature of this second ditch is that the engineers who executed it left three uncut piers of rock in a line across the centre of it, to act as the supports for a bridge to carry the road from one side of it to the other.[45] One of these has recently been removed in enlarging a modern track, which ascends by means of this cutting on to the ridge beyond, but stubby remnants of the other two are still surviving. There is no sign, however, of the bridge they once supported; in fact, a small, deserted, tufa summer-house, or arbour, now stands where the east abutment should be, effectively blocking the line of the road. Whatever the date of this settlement may be, it clearly post-dates the building of the Via Cassia,[46] for it is aligned along the road and makes allowances for it in constructing its main defensive ditch. Originally, therefore, the ancient road encountered no such obstacle in its path along this spur.

West of the ditch, its course lay along a broad terrace on the north side of the ridge for 150 m., before it rose to the ridge centre, through a wide, shallow cutting (700806). There are a considerable number of paving blocks over the next 400 m., built into a field embankment north of the road. It then passes through a wood, always on the same straight line, running along the south lip of an artificial scarp, or bank, crosses a short stretch of ploughed land, where the bank disappears temporarily, and plunges once more into a wood, where the bank immediately resumes again, continuing westwards with only one break for 400 m. The total length of this bank, some 3–4 m. high as it survives, is about a kilometre (696805–685808), and scattered groups of loose paving blocks occur here and there along its course. It ceases ultimately where the wood ends and cultivation begins.

At this point (685808), the road bends slightly to the north, heading now almost due north-west (a line which it continues as far as the limits of the map) and it crosses, at an acute angle, the modern road from Sutri to the railway station, with which it has been steadily converging (Km. 3.1). For 200 m. through the woods that follow, it is flanked on either side by two well-marked *aggera*, over a metre high and 20 m. apart, which give place to a single, high, artificially scarped bank, on the north side of the road only (676813). This also continues for about 200 m. before the two *aggera* reappear once more (673815). This time, though, they are only 13 m. apart from base to base, but stand a good 2 m. high. The northern one vanishes after 100 m., leaving the road on a clearly defined terrace with a bank on its south side which, however, also disappears in its turn a short distance further to the west, when the road runs out of woodland into cultivated ground. Loose paving blocks, in varying numbers, occur at regular intervals along this section of the road.

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[45] There is also a tufa abutment left uncut in the first ditch, which is partly concealed by the earthen causeway.

[46] It was perhaps the medieval ward of Santo Stefano, which is known to have existed from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. When it was first occupied, however, remains a problem. For a discussion of the question, see pp. 123–5.

Here the road passes beyond the limits of the map, but continues in a north-westerly direction, gradually converging with the modern Via Cassia, which has been pursuing a line further to the north, and making for the ancient road station, Vicus Matrini, at Km. 60.6 approx. on the modern road.

2. *The Via Ciminia*

The Via Ciminia, by the second century A.D., was grouped together with the Viae Cassia, Clodia, Amerina, Annia and Nova Traiana under a board of 'curatores viarum.'[47] Although there is still some doubt as to the identity of the last two, all these roads lay in the area between the Via Aurelia and the Via Flaminia and it seems reasonable to recognise as the Via Ciminia the Roman road which ran over the Monti Cimini from Sutri, it being the only Roman paved road known to cross these hills. This account deals with the first section of the road, from Sutri, where it left the Via Cassia, as far as Lago di Vico; beyond that, it has always been assumed to continue to Viterbo, rejoining the Via Cassia at Aquae Passeris, the next road station beyond Forum Cassii, some 7 km. north of Viterbo. This second section of the road's course was not explored; but for a consideration of the possible routes, see the end of the detailed description below.

The date at which the road was built remains uncertain. All one can say, at present, is that black-glazed ware is to be found on one or two of the sites along its line (fig. 7, *a*, p. 94). This, however, gives no indication of when the road was paved, as there may have been a track in existence from the first on the same line, which was only later systematised and permanently surfaced. The quality of the individual paving blocks varies little from those of the more important Via Cassia; the same hard *selce* is employed, although the blocks are, if anything, a trifle smaller. The engineering of the road does differ, however. Greater concessions are made to natural obstacles, which are circumvented for the most part, terracing being resorted to along hillsides and slopes, but never cuttings. The course of the road is chosen with immense care, to provide an even, steady gradient on the long climb up to the crest of the lake, and there is only one point at which it becomes at all steep, when the gradient suddenly rises to about 1 : 5 for a short stretch of 50 m.

The road left Sutri by its west gate and, having crossed the wide, defensive cutting just beyond the walls, on some form of bridge of which all trace has disappeared,[48] continued back along the ridge on the end of which the town lies, between the Fosso dei Condotti and the Valle Montone. It joins a modern track after 600 m., which it follows then for 800 m., before branching off to the right to cross the Fosso. Its course from the town to the modern track is marked by isolated *selce* blocks, lying always a short distance north of the comparatively recently made road to the station, and the track itself is paved more or less continuously with them, all, however, relaid and not in their original positions. There are also over 100 of them used to make a field-bank, running parallel to the track a short distance to the south.

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[47] Cf. *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 192, where the relevant inscriptions are collected.

[48] Assuming the cutting, or ditch, to be ancient in origin (see p. 69).

The Fosso has by this point become a fairly shallow gully, though it increases rapidly in depth as it runs towards the east, and the stream itself presents no great obstacle, no more than a culvert being necessary in all probability to cross it. The descent to the stream is equally easy, obliquely down a gentle slope. Once across, the road continued up its east bank for a short distance (400 m.), remaining in the bottom of the gully, and then moved onto the first of many terraces along its route, running for 150 m. along the gully's east side (698822). The terrace leads to the west edge of a small knoll, which the road skirts, emerging in a field on its northern side, where its line unites with that of a present-day cart-track (698825). Groups of loose paving blocks confirm the point at which it crosses the stream, as well as its continuation up to the terrace, and many of them lie beside the cart-track. The lines of the track and of the ancient road coincide for some 800 m., rounding the head of a re-entrant valley and the end of a spur beyond; but where the present track descends into a dell, avoiding a wood, the Via Ciminia remained up on the flank of the spur and can be seen among the trees, as a clearly marked terrace, probably 3 m. wide once, with *selce* blocks *in situ* in places under the leaves, gradually dropping towards the bottom of the dell, which it eventually crosses. 694830–695832.)

Having mounted the ridge on the west side of the dell—a comparatively low ridge, but with steep sides which would have presented a fairly sharp rise to get onto it—the road was able to continue along it for 2½ km., pursuing an almost straight course, a little west of north, until it reached the Rio dei Sorci, not far beyond the modern road Capranica–Ronciglione (687856). For the first half of its route along the ridge, the line is also that of an onward continuation of the cart-track it had been following before crossing the dell, and this is confirmed by odd groups of paving blocks, including a few *in situ* at 693838. After crossing the railway, however, the track soon turns off to the right, but the line of the Via Ciminia continues to be marked by loose blocks, scattered here and there in the vineyards, but always maintaining the same direction. A large number of paving stones is built into a field-embankment, near a *casale* not far south of the modern road (688848).

The Rio dei Sorci was already a deeply eroded stream at the spot where the Ciminia reached it, but the crossing was necessary, in order that the road might arrive at the crest of the lake at its lowest point; for, although it would have been possible to reach the lake by staying on the same ridge, the ascent to the crest would have become noticeably steeper, and the descent to the lake on the far side, so as to be able to continue onwards to Viterbo, would have been impossible without a considerable feat of engineering; as it is, the way down from the point actually chosen is comparatively easy. The crossing has in fact been chosen with considerable care. Immediately upstream, the sides of this small gorge rise abruptly and would have needed a far larger bridge to span the gap; while downstream they immediately widen, so that, although it would have been possible to cross somewhat lower (where in fact the bridge of the modern road has been placed), such a crossing means a descent into the gorge itself, involving a corresponding loss of height, to be painfully won back beyond. The spot selected by the Via Ciminia is both the narrowest and the most practicable, the stream being some 16 m. wide and 16 m. deep. There is, however, no sign of a bridge.

The approach to the crossing, on its west side, was made along a well-marked terrace, about 4 m. wide, preserved in a wood, curving round the shoulder of a spur and gradually losing height (the minimum necessary). On the opposite bank, though, comes the steepest part of the whole climb up to the lake, when the road rises sharply to gain the top of the ridge beyond, mounting with a gradient of about 1 : 5 (another terrace). This, however, only lasts for 50 m.; once up on the ridge, the road resumes its previous steady rate of climb, working due north now towards the crest and running along the east side of the ridge rather than along its summit, so as to keep the gradient mild. Its line is indicated regularly by loose paving stones in vineyard boundaries and hedges and a dozen are *in situ* in section, in a bank at 688863, just west of a farm-track. Shortly before reaching the crest, the shallow valley on whose west side the road has been running (i.e. on the east slopes of the ridge) comes to an end (688870) and, to avoid the sudden steep slope on front of it, the road turns north-east, swinging across the head of the valley, to arrive shortly afterwards at the summit of the ascent.

From Sutri as far as the lake, the course of the road is never in doubt, but how, and in which direction, it continued beyond remains uncertain for the present. Though there was in fact a Roman ridge-track running west along the south crest of the old crater, a track which was paved, at least for its initial eastern section (but poorly : see below, 6), this track probably descended to the Via Cassia again at Vicus Matrini and forms, therefore, an unlikely candidate for the continuation of the Via Ciminia.

Any road that wished to continue to the north, had first of all to descend to the level of the lake itself, as the crest of the crater is broken to the east by the gorge which drains the lake, and had then to surmount the far, northern side of the crater, before being able to descend towards Viterbo or the Via Cassia.

Considering the initial descent first of all, there are traces of two alternative routes (fig. 8, p. 102). There is a wide, natural gully, with a moderate gradient, dropping directly from the crest, which provides an obvious way down to the lake, needing little or no artificial cutting. But there is also a well-marked, artificial terrace, running obliquely along the north side of the crest, a short distance east of the gully. This terrace clearly carried a road at some time, descending gently to the east along the side of the hill, though now the lower portions of it have been ploughed away. I have chosen to assume that the ancient road went down the gully, as the more obvious route for any road to take, but at the same time making the reservation that the Via Ciminia seems to show a marked preference for terraces as opposed to cuttings and also that it tries, wherever possible, to keep its gradient as mild as it can. The terrace is almost certainly Roman in date and would have carried some service road connected with the group of sites in this area, even if it did not carry the Via Ciminia itself.

There are three possible routes for mounting the far crest of the old crater. Either one climbs straight up on to it at the nearest point, as the modern road does and as did its medieval predecessor; or one can coast round the lake to its north side and there climb up and over the crater rim, as the old sixteenth-century road to Viterbo did; or finally one can make for the lowest point of the rim, on the north-west side, and cross it there, descending to S. Martino al Cimino, as a new road will do, which is still under construction.

The route chosen by the present road to Viterbo shows no trace of antiquity and involves besides some fairly steep gradients. Its medieval predecessor, which leads up the east side of the hill on which Vico castle stands, and thence on to the ridge behind, likewise shows no signs of any great antiquity, appearing in short to be purely medieval in origin. The new road to S. Martino al Cimino follows the line of an earlier track, but again there are no indications of antiquity along it, at least as far as it lies within the crest of the crater.

This leaves, finally, the sixteenth-century road to Viterbo, for the sides of the crater are so steep that the one or two other tracks that mount it are too precipitous to be considered. This road follows the lake round to its north side and then, running behind Monte Venere, the old secondary cone inside the ancient volcano, climbs steadily up the side of the crater itself, along a broad, continuous terrace, 5–6 m. wide, which mounts for nearly 2 km. before reaching the crest. The gradient begins with a fairly steep 200–250 m. at about 1 : 5, but thereafter continues much more gently, at about 1 : 10, right up to the top: only for 3–4 short stretches does it increase temporarily to about 1 : 7. The only traces of paving along it are non-Roman in character, composed of packed, small chips of stone between larger curb-stones, and the present width of the terrace is wider than one would have expected for the Via Ciminia. But it remains possible, nonetheless, that the sixteenth-century engineers may have swept away all traces of any pre-existing road or track that they were re-using, and this route undoubtedly remains the best candidate for the continuation of the Roman road.

No signs of any Roman paving are to be seen beside the lake, between this point and that at which the Via Ciminia descended from the south crest of the crater, but the same sixteenth-century engineers and their successors, together with the inhabitants of the settlement round Vico castle, may have combined to remove them. Alternatively, the Roman road may be buried by a considerable depth of silt, crossing, as it would have done, the flood plain beside the lake. A Roman site lies a short distance west of the lower end of the terrace, between Monte Venere and the crater's sides (672930). The descent to Viterbo beyond the north crest of the crater was not explored, but gives the impression of being both direct and straightforward, judging from the map.

3. *The cross-country road connecting Sutri with Nepi*

The cross-country road connecting Sutri with Nepi was the same as the Etruscan road between the two towns, which merely continued in service during the Roman period. Various shallow cuttings along its course are quite likely to belong to Etruscan times,[49] but the widening of the final, deep cutting, which leads down from the ridge beside Sutri, may well have been due to the Romans. A scatter of sites along its course containing black-glazed ware (fig. 7, *a*, p. 94) confirms its early use by the Romans. It was never paved.

For a description of the course of the road, see *The Etruscan Roads*, 1, p. 77.

[49] Along a road of this description, it is often impossible to distinguish between Roman and Etruscan work.

4. *The ridge-track running west from Sutri, south of the Via Cassia*

The Etruscan road continuing west from Sutri to Blera, along the ridge to the south of the one followed by the Via Cassia, also remained in use during the Roman period, primarily to serve the sites on that ridge, as well as to continue to provide a through road of a secondary nature, at least as far as a new, paved *diverticulum*, connecting the Via Clodia with the Via Cassia, running north and south about 4 km. west of Bassano (fig. 1, p. 64).

For a description of the course of the road, see *The Etruscan Roads*, 1, p. 77.

5. *The cross-country track connecting Sutri with Falerii Novi*

In 241 B.C. the Romans destroyed the old Faliscan town of Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana) and transferred the population to a new site, Falerii Novi (S. Maria di Falleri), some 5 km. to the west. Previously, anyone wishing to travel from Sutri to Falerii Veteres had passed through Nepi; a direct ridge-road connected the two towns.[50] But Falerii Novi lay almost directly north of Nepi (fig. 1, p. 64) and the shortest route to it from Sutri was undoubtedly provided by a cross-country track, running more or less straight from one town to the other. This, however, does not seem to have been a road of any great importance and it is probable that the main traffic between the two towns continued to pass through Nepi, following first the flat ridge-road from Sutri to Nepi (see above, 3) and then taking the Via Amerina north from there, an excellent, paved road, laid out soon after the founding of Falerii Novi, if not actually contemporary with it.[51]

On leaving Sutri, the track entered the same cutting, opposite the east end of the town, as that taken by the ridge-road to Nepi, climbing up together with it onto the ridge. But once up, it continued towards the north-east, ignoring the other road, which turns off to the east (720807). After 800 m. it crosses a minor stream, where there was perhaps a small bridge or a culvert, which has left no trace, and then rises to surmount a high ridge which lies across its path, swinging slightly to the north. This ridge is, in fact, a clay ridge which runs across the country north of Sutri, on which, further to the west, are two Roman brick- and tile-kilns and a Roman pottery (704828, 713823, and 714814). Having mounted the ridge, the track followed the south bank of a small stream down its far side, turning with it towards the north-east again (being by now out of the map area, Fig. 5, p. 78), crosses it at the bottom, probably by means of a ford, and immediately afterwards reaches the modern road Monterosi–Ronciglione, just beyond Km. 26. Over most of its course between Sutri and the modern road it coincides with the line of a present-day track, from which it differs at only two points, one where the present track does a small detour to one side (722810) and the other where it has recently been diverted to the south for 600 m., to serve a new group of farm buildings, the headquarters of the Azienda Agricola Sutrium, 'Fonte Vivola' (730816).

Beyond the modern road, the course of the ancient track is the same as that of another modern road, leading to Fabbrica di Roma, which it pursues for 3 km., as far as the fourth kilometre-stone. There it swings off to the east, becoming a ridge-track for another kilometre, before crossing the Fosso Maggiore near Casale Pazielli and resuming its eastwards course, still as a ridge-track, but on the next ridge, to the north of the Fosso instead of to the south. This ridge is the one that runs immediately to the south of Falerii Novi, a further 3 km. beyond, and only a short side road (paved) was needed to take the road into the town. This last section of the road, between Falerii Novi and Casale Pazielli, had already been explored and published in 1957.[52]

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[50] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 136.

[51] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, pp. 73 ff. and especially pp. 89–107. It is possible that this track from Sutri to Falerii Novi may have been wholly or partly in existence before 241 B.C., since it passes beyond the latter and continues as far as Falerii Veteres. It may have served an at present unknown Falisian site (or sites) in the vicinity of Falerii Novi, or it may have acted as an alternative through road between Sutri and Falerii Veteres. There could have been times when it was inconvenient to have to pass through Nepi, travelling from one town to the other (cf. *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, p. 144).

6. *The road along the south crest of Lago di Vico*

From the point where the Via Ciminia reached the south crest of Lago di Vico, a road led west, following the line of the crest itself and paved, at least in its initial, eastern section. The paving is composed of a comparatively poor-quality *selce*, speckled with leucite, which makes it less resistant to wear, though the blocks are generally larger than those of the Via Ciminia. This paving may have been confined to the first few hundred metres only, in the vicinity of the group of sites clustered beside the Via Ciminia, for it disappears after a short distance. After running for 3½–4 km. along the crest of the old crater, it is probable that the road turned south, dropping down towards the Via Cassia and joining that road at Vicus Matrini, some 3 km. immediately below the spot at which it leaves the lake. This route is in fact followed by a modern farm-track; it was not explored outside the limits of the map area.

From the Via Ciminia, the road was paved for 600 m. to the west, running at first up a gully (cut artificially near the Ciminia, but soon becoming a wide, natural terrace) and then mounting up a short, man-made terrace, south of the large Roman mausoleum at 684871, to arrive at the actual crest of the crater. From there it coincides with the line of the modern farm-track, mentioned above, both of them continuing westwards along the crater, at least as far as the boundaries of the map and probably beyond them, too, as far as Vicus Matrini. The modern track has certainly removed any Roman paving that ever existed along its course.

East of the Via Ciminia there was also a short stretch of paved road, of which some of the blocks are still *in situ*, in section, in the north bank of the deeply worn modern track (691871). This bit of road was no more than a service road, connected with the large villa at 692872, for no continuation of it was found in any direction. (For a detailed plan of the area see fig. 8, p. 102).

7. *The paved road from Sutri to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo.'*

From Sutri, a paved road ran roughly south-west for about 2 km. to a large villa, whose site now bears the local name of 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785). There can be no doubt that it was a private road, specially built to serve the villa, to connect it with the town. There are no other sites of any size along it.

The road's route took it across the line of the gorges, which are here running east and west, and this necessitated deep cuttings at two points along its course. Otherwise it was able to follow the broad backs of the ridges, deviating only a little from the direct line, in order to avoid one or two low rises. The quality of the paving conforms with the secondary character of the road, for, although the same hard *selce* is used as that employed for the Via Cassia and the Via Ciminia, the individual blocks are more irregular, less care having been taken, particularly, in shaping the undersides of the blocks into a point which will bind well into the foundations beneath. As a result the blocks are noticeably more rectangular in section than those of the two major roads.

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[52] *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, pp. 159–160. Judging by the density of the sites discovered within the map area of the present article, it seems possible that the ground between Sutri and Falerii Novi was not all as heavily forested as is indicated at the end of that account.

The first cutting came soon after the beginning of the road, when, having presumably branched off the Via Cassia in the valley below the town, it had immediately to climb onto the ridge to the south (pl. XIX, *b*). This it did by entering the cliff face more or less at right-angles (obliquely at first, but only at the very bottom of the cutting) and rising steadily up through the soft tufa to the ridge above (712800). This cutting, which is about 200 m. long, maintains an even, easy gradient throughout, together with a nearly uniform width (2.50 m. approx.), and is up to 8 m. deep in places.[53] The descent from the other side of this ridge, which is comparatively narrow, was more gentle, as it makes use of a natural dip in the ground, though a little terracing was probably necessary. The modern track which follows approximately the same line across the ridge has been worn deeper than its predecessor, interrupting thereby a *cuniculus*, cut in the tufa, which crosses it obliquely at the present road level (711798). Three or four paving blocks lie loose near the top of the initial cutting, and there is another *cuniculus* near the bottom of it (712801).

A ford provides the present crossing of the stream in the Fosso del Pisciarello, and that may have been all there was in Roman times too; certainly no trace of a bridge survives. Once across it, a second long cutting, very similar to the first, was necessary to ascend the next ridge, rising more obliquely through the tufa, but fairly straight, with a mild gradient, and never under 2.50 m. wide. Again it reaches 7–8 m. in depth and is about 160 m. long. At the bottom, a *cuniculus* has been exposed in a break in the tufa, on the south side of the road (710795), and 40 m. up there is a second one, in the west face of the cutting, about 2 m. above the level of the road (709795). The latter runs north into the tufa, reappears in crossing an adjacent medieval cutting and empties out of the cliff face into the Fosso del Pisciarello. This 'medieval' cutting is part cutting and part terrace and runs on a course parallel to the Roman one. There is nothing to date it, but it was clearly made as a substitute for the Roman one, when that had become blocked towards its top by earth coming in from above, after a period of disuse; the one or two paving blocks along it have been taken from its predecessor. A second steep cutting, which winds its way to the top of the ridge, 50 m. east of these two, is also post-Roman in date, in all likelihood.

From the head of the cutting, the Roman road went as directly as possible to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo,' just over a kilometre away, along the back of a broad, flat ridge. A few minor rises cause it to deviate a little to avoid them and the road begins by making along a wide gully on the north side of one of them. After 500 m., however, it is able to cross this low spur, turning more to the south in doing so; having continued in this direction for a further 300 m., it rounds the end of another slight rise and accomplishes the last 500 m. to the villa in a straight line. Only once does a modern track coincide with the line of the Roman road between the cutting and the villa and then for no more than 40–50 m., demonstrating how completely this section of the road went out of use in the post-Roman period (703789). Where the ancient and modern lines do meet, however, there are some paving blocks still to be seen in position, in section, in a bank, including a few of the original curb-stones. Just north of this point, the road crosses a field on a marked embankment; it has been ploughed through, and the result is some 180 loose blocks piled in heaps. Besides these, there are scattered blocks all along the line of the road, so that its course is never in doubt, and the last 500 m. to the villa are particularly prolific in them. But none are to be found beyond the villa in any direction, proving thereby that the road did in fact stop there. Farm-, or ridge-, tracks may have led on from the villa—almost certainly there was one such track which ran up the ridge immediately opposite it, leading south towards other Roman sites further up towards Monte Calvi—but none of them were paved.

8. *The paved road from the Via Cassia to the villa at Casale Castellaccio*

A short stretch of paved road (1,500 m.) led south from the Via Cassia about 1½ km. south-east of Sutri. It crossed two streams, ran past the large site, or villa, at Casale Castellaccio and apparently came to an end some 350 m. beyond the villa. A promising line on an air photograph might indicate its continuation for a further 300 m. beyond that, but there is no sign of any paving ever having continued and even the air-photograph line seems in its turn to come to an end.

It appears probable on the present evidence that this was another example of a private road, designed to serve one particular site, like the road to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (7, above). In the first place, the actual quality of the individual paving-blocks indicates that it was no more than a minor road, albeit a paved one. Though the blocks are as large as those of the Via Cassia and are made of the same hard *selce*, they are nevertheless much less regular in shape and often have a comparatively uneven upper surface.

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[53] For an Etruscan cutting, on an exactly parallel course 50 m. to the west, see *The Etruscan Roads*, I, p. 79. The Etruscan cutting was probably abandoned because of falls, being considered unsafe.

The road seems to have come to an end soon after passing the villa. No evidence was found to suggest that it turned up onto any of the ridges to the south-west, either to serve further villas higher up towards Monte Calvi or to act as a through-road to Trevignano. Nor apparently did it continue south-east, along the foot of these ridges, towards Monterosi, at least not as a paved road; although the route lies across fairly easy country and a track may in fact have passed that way, no *selce* blocks were found to indicate that any paved road ever did.

There can be no doubt that the villa at Casale Castellaccio lay immediately on the road, as in the same bank in which some of its paving was visible, there was also an *opus signinum* pavement, which must have belonged to a room immediately adjacent to it. The road takes the shortest, most economical route to the site, from the nearest point on the Via Cassia, and the fact that it continued a short distance further may well have been to provide the villa with easy access up onto the land beyond, conceivably part of its property. There are no other buildings of a comparable size in the vicinity and it would have needed a fairly rich villa to be able to afford its own paved road.

All the present evidence suggests, therefore, that this road, like the one to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo,' was also a private estate road.

Branching off the Via Cassia at the point where it turned north-west towards the town (722796), the road crossed the shallow stream in the Fosso del Pisciarello—no trace of a bridge survives—and climbed up onto the ridge beyond through a cutting 200–250 m. long, a cutting which has been considerably widened and deepened by a modern road to Trevignano, still under construction. The remains of two tombs are visible near the bottom of it, cut in the tufa on the west side, about 4 m. above the present road level (721793). Beyond, the road pursued a straight course, marked by ploughed-out paving blocks, across a wide ridge and, after an easy descent to cross an intervening stream, even shallower than the last and likewise showing no traces of a bridge, it reappeared on the low saddle immediately west of the villa at Casale Castellaccio (722786). Some of its paving is visible *in situ*, in the bank of a modern track which crosses the saddle at the same point, and there are many loose blocks scattered about the farm.

Beyond the Casale, a cutting up the east side of a stream gully, with scattered paving blocks along it and a few *in situ* near the top, confirms that the road ascended the next ridge to the south (723784). At the head of the cutting, another group of loose *selce* blocks, with a few more *in situ*, shows that it ran a short distance into the field beyond. But further than that there were none to be found, although the field, which was ploughed, was a large one. Examination of air photographs produced a promising line for 300 m., still running south-east, but even that comes to an end in its turn (broken line on the map; fig. 6, p. 82) and, as has been said above, no trace of the road could be found in any direction beyond that.

9. *Traces of other ancient tracks*

Though there must have been a large number of minor tracks in the area in the Roman period, some of which were probably already in use in Etruscan times, few have left any trace on the ground. The only means by which it is possible to locate them to-day is either by air photographs (which have proved of no value in this respect in this particular area) or by cuttings along their course sufficiently marked to have escaped being obliterated by later cultivation. Though there are many examples of the latter, especially near Sutri, the problem, as always, is to decide which of them are ancient. One which is only 100 years old will be as deep and as imposing after continual use in country which is composed of soft tufa, as examples in harder rock which have been in use for two millenia or more. Rarely is there any separate evidence by which they can be dated. It has seemed wiser, therefore, to regard as medieval, or more recent, any cutting for which there is not good reason for believing that it was ancient. There remain four cuttings which may possibly be ancient, especially the first-named.

The first of these cuttings (723793) has a rock-cut tomb opening off it, which may be Etruscan in date, if parallels in Cerveteri are valid (723793). It lies east of the initial cutting for the Roman paved road to the villa at Casale Castellaccio, and is both wide (5 m.) and deep (4–5 m.). It is 100–120 m. long and divides in two, half-way up, though each fork is now blocked by earth from above. The gradient is even and easy. This cutting may have been enlarged in later times—there are in fact signs of quarrying at one point—and both forks may not be original. Alternatively, one fork may have led towards a group of tombs about a kilometre to the east (cf. 732789, 732791, 739788), while the other may have served an early Etruscan road towards Veii, or a *diverticulum* to connect with such a road, if it chose instead to take a predecessor of the cutting of the paved Roman road to the west (721793).

A second, long and shallow cutting lies nearby, running roughly east–west between the present Via Cassia and the road to Bassano (720796). It extends for 200–300 m., is never very deep and leads onto slightly higher ground towards its west end. There is nothing by which to date it, so that it could be either an Etruscan or a Roman road continuing west along the ridge onto which it rises, or merely a comparatively recent precursor of the road to Bassano. It has not been shown on the map.

A third cutting that is possibly, though not certainly, ancient lies 2 km. to the south of Sutri, and made use of a natural gully to ascend onto a ridge above, cutting back the east side of it to provide an easier route (708783). The gradient is still steep, however, and the road followed a curved course up the gully. It has been disused for some time, as the present track now passes 100 m. further west, and it might be the relic of a former Roman ridge-track leading south, up towards Monte Calvi. Moreover, there is a second cutting at the head of this particular ridge, passing between Monte Calvi and a low hill to its west and giving access to a possible route down to Lago di Bracciano on the far side (703761). Since there is no indication of date for either example (and the latter has recently been widened—if not made—for a modern road, still under construction), neither has been shown on the map.

IV. ROMAN SETTLEMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

(*i*) *Historical Development*

'Silva erat Ciminia magis tum invia atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem adita.'[54] Such was Livy's comment on the Ciminian forest of 310 B.C., when the consul Q. Fabius Rullianus contemplated entering it, in pursuit of the Etruscans whom he had just defeated in battle near Sutri. The Senate's reaction, when they heard of his intentions, was to send messengers to prevent him doing so. But, by the time they arrived, Fabius had already returned from his expedition, having crossed the Monti Cimini and raided the rich plains to the north. Livy's comment, however, suggests how dense and uninhabited this forest was at the time and it is probable that it extended almost to the gates of Sutri. To the south of the town, the situation was in all probability very similar, namely that the slopes of Monte Calvi and the other hills north of Lago di Bracciano were also covered with fairly dense woodland, if not actual forest. A glance at the maps of Roman sites, on the other hand (figs. 5, 6, pp. 78, 82) will show that both these areas were thickly populated by the time of the Empire and it was the Roman achievement to have opened up this land for cultivation and habitation.

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[54] Livy, 9, 36, 1.

It is claimed that there was some form of occupation on the hills north of Lago di Bracciano in the period preceding the Etruscan era,[55] but, if so, it appears to have come to an end in about the eighth century B.C.[56] Such occupation consisted of fortified settlements, confined to the summits of the higher peaks and adjacent ridges. Similar fortified, early settlements are said to have been found on the Monti Cimini, but their precise date is not known.[57]

In the following era neither group of hills was inhabited to any extent, the Etruscans apparently prefering to settle the more level and open ground of the Faliscan plain to the east. Sutri itself was perhaps not a large town and, if any of the surrounding area was brought into cultivation, it would have been the comparatively flat land south-east of the town, on the westernmost fringes of the Faliscan plain. It is in this direction that the few probable Etruscan tombs are found, though there is no other evidence to suggest settlement in the countryside. There may have been a few houses or huts, both here and on the slopes of the hills, in small clearings in the woods. But the traces of them have disappeared, and it is probable that the majority of what inhabitants there were preferred to live in the town.

With the Roman conquest, however, and the arrival of peaceful conditions—after an initial period of intermittent warfare—people were able to settle safely in the countryside for the first time. The immediate vicinity of the town was probably occupied first, especially the land to the south-east mentioned above, together with areas along the road running east to Nepi. Then expansion took place to north and south, penetrating and opening up the woods and forest land, until eventually, at the peak of the Roman period, Sutri, by now a fair-sized town, had become the centre of a thickly populated countryside and the hub of a network of roads and tracks radiating in all directions. Although it is possible to estimate reasonably accurately the stages by which this expansion took place, it is more difficult to discover how long a time it needed, or at what period any given stage occurred.

The Romans first founded a colony at Sutri in the early fourth century B.C.,[58] but it is unlikely that many of the inhabitants built houses outside the town, or at any distance from it, before the end of that century, when the Roman advance had finally moved beyond Sutri into central and northern Etruria. From the early third century, then, peace was more or less assured and expansion began in earnest. Thereafter, it no doubt continued fairly steadily, apart from a temporary set-back in the Second Punic War, when Hannibal rendered the countryside unsafe (late third century); but we have no means of judging its direction or pace, until the end of the first century B.C.[59] Then, however, we can form some idea of the stage it had reached, by considering a map showing the distribution of Republican black-glazed pottery in the area (fig. 7, *a*).

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[55] *Monumenti Antichi*, iv, 1894, cc. 95–104. Though probably correct, the findings of this article have not been checked in the light of subsequent knowledge of Italian prehistory.

[56] At roughly the same time that the cities of Narce and Falerii Veteres appear to have been founded in the Faliscan plain (*loc. cit.*).

[57] *Op. cit.*, cc. 44–47.

[58] 390 or 383 B.C. See p. 68, note 4.

Shortly after 30 B.C. terra sigillata began to be made at Arretium and it very soon supplanted the earlier black-glazed ware. Therefore, a map of the sites on which this earlier pottery has been found gives us an approximate idea of the extent to which the area had been settled by Augustan times, allowing for a slight overlap between the two wares. Since the map is based entirely on surface finds, it cannot claim to be comprehensive; but the general picture it presents is probably accurate.[60]

By the late first century B.C. Roman development had spread south, up into the hills, as far as Monte Calvi;[61] it was moving west through the Sutri gap; and it was beginning to creep northwards into the *Silva Ciminia*, with a few sites up near Lago di Vico and an area of intensive settlement immediately north of the town.

In the south, the fact that sites appear as high up as Monte Calvi demonstrates that all the northern slopes of these hills were already opened up, at least in part, and it would not be surprising to find that the whole of this group of hills between Sutri and Lago di Bracciano had already been occupied by this time.

Towards the west, it is interesting to note that the sites lie along the older ridgeway through the pass, rather than along the newer Via Cassia. Though the argument from silence is not to be trusted absolutely, it is tempting to suspect that the Via Cassia still ran through woodland west of Sutri at this period. If so, the high banks and widely-spaced *aggera* that mark its course would have been necessary features to demarcate clearly the boundaries between the roadway, and the woodland and scrub on either side.[62]

To the north there are two points to note. The first is, that of the nine sites immediately north of Sutri, between the Via Ciminia and the track to Falerii Novi, seven are situated, not on tufa, but on a high, isolated ridge of clay, which runs across the countryside here, and the one site in the corner of the map to the east, between the track to Falerii Novi and that to Nepi (738814), also lies on a continuation eastwards of the same ridge. More will be said of this clay ridge later (p. 98); here it is enough to mention that its limits extend no further than the area covered by these few sites. Clearly the Romans perceived its different geological nature and deliberately chose it to settle on. But the motives governing their choice could be

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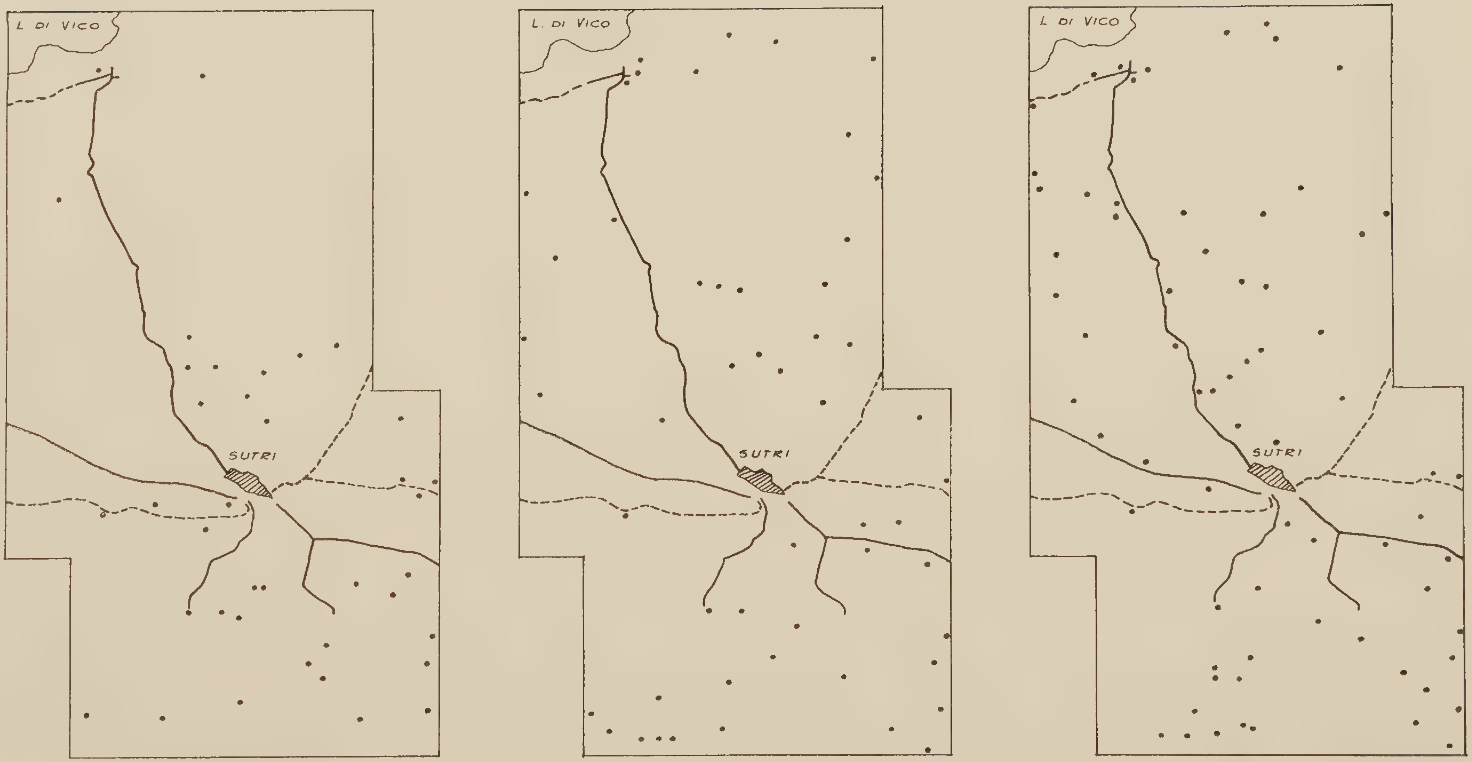
[59] Livy indicates that there was vacant land near Sutri in 210 B.C., either deserted or still unsettled. In that year the Senate decreed that certain of the Campani should be moved and settled 'in Veiente Sutrino Nepesinove agro, dum ne cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus esset.' (Livy 26, 34, 10.) Though the measure was never carried out, it implies that there was land available.

[60] The same *caveat* applies to the distribution maps of terra sigillata and red polished ware.

[61] At least on the ridge to the west and equally well, therefore, on Monte Calvi itself. It was impossible to explore it, however, as it is covered with present-day woods.

[62] One cannot argue, on the other hand, for an Imperial date for the Via Cassia!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(a) (b) (c)

FIG. 7. DISTRIBUTION MAPS OF ROMAN POTTERY IN THE SUTRI DISTRICT: (*a*) BLACK-GLAZED WARES; (*b*) TERRA SIGILLATA; (*c*) MIDDLE AND LATE IMPERIAL RED POLISHED WARES

more than one. Two of the sites are a pottery and a brick-and-tile kiln;[63] here the motives are obvious, for there is no other clay in the area.[64] The other sites may have selected the ridge, either because it dominates the surrounding country (though only at its east end) or, more likely, because it was more easily cleared and, perhaps, more fertile.

The three sites up towards Lago di Vico show that the Ciminian forest was beginning to be penetrated in earnest and two of them lie near the line of the Via Ciminia. One cannot use them, however, to date the road, as there may have been a ridgeway track following roughly the same course before the paved road was laid. The date of the Via Ciminia remains a problem, therefore, though it is possible that it would be contemporary with, or would follow soon after, the first settlement of these remoter parts of the Monti Cimini, giving a stimulus, by its presence, to such development.[65]

The next picture that we have of the pattern of development comes in the mid-third century A.D., this time provided by the distribution map of terra sigillata.[66] The map (fig. 7, *b*) represents the occupation of over 250 years. But since the succeeding map (of red polished ware) tells much the same story, it is likely to portray the situation as it actually was in the mid-third century. During these 250 years, the areas that were already settled continued to be occupied, while the remaining areas of the Monti Cimini, within the limits of the map, were penetrated and opened up. Since this advance into the Ciminian forest had already begun by the end of the first century B.C., it is probable that it was completed before the close of the 250 years, possibly by the late first century A.D.

As far as is known at present, red polished ware[67] began sometime in the second century A.D. and it continued into the sub-Roman period, as late as the fifth or sixth century. Its distribution map (fig. 7, *c*) could, therefore, cover as much as 300–400 years and it cannot, accordingly, be trusted to represent accurately the scene at the end of that time. All it can do is to supplement the picture provided by the map of terra sigillata, with which it overlaps, adding no fresh developments, but emphasising the fact of complete settlement over the whole area within the map.[68]

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[63] 713823 and 714814, respectively.

[64] Another deposit, near Bassano di Sutri, lies just off the map area, to the south-west; see p. 98.

[65] The Roman site on the north side of Lago di Vico, near the foot of the long terrace by which the Via Ciminia may have ascended the far side of the ancient volcano, produced sigillata and red polished ware (672930, out of the map area).

[66] Terra sigillata continued in use until that time, having superseded black-glazed ware during the reign of Augustus.

[67] The term includes the whole range of middle and late Roman wares produced in imitation of terra sigillata.

[68] At first sight the map gives the impression of more intensive settlement than was evident in the terra sigillata map. But this is probably deceptive, as it represents a far longer period.

The figures of pottery distribution over all the sites are as follows :—

Sites with black-glazed ware ..	38
Sites with terra sigillata ..	52
Sites with red polished ware ..	70
Sites with coarse ware only ..	93
Total number of sites producing pottery	207

The increase between black-glazed ware and terra sigillata correctly indicates an increase of settlement in the area; that between terra sigillata and red polished ware indicates only a longer interval of time, during which the pottery was in circulation. The high percentage of sites producing coarse ware only emphasises the weakness of figures that are derived from surface finds and not from excavated sites.

The coins found in the area confirm the historical sequence suggested by the pottery.

1. Republican coin, on or very near the clay ridge north of Sutri : 137–134 B.C. (720825).
2. Coin of Vespasian, by Lago di Vico : [A.D. 69–79] (689871).
3. Coin of Nerva, on the clay ridge north of Sutri : A.D. 97 (704829).
4. Coin of Maximinus Thrax, at the villa of 'S. Giovanni a pollo' : A.D. 236–238 (701785).

Looking at it, there can be no doubt of the Roman achievement in opening up the Silva Ciminia.[69]

(*ii*) *Nature of the Settlement*

Most of the sites discovered in the course of exploring the area survived only as a scatter of debris on the surface of the ground, though there were a few instances in which more tangible remains were to be seen. Although it was possible to assess, approximately, the size of the majority of them, judging by the extent of the scatter of debris, it was more difficult to gain an idea of what form of building or construction each one represented. For out of a total of about 207 sites, 116, or over half, produced nothing more substantial than pottery and broken tiles. This state of affairs was particularly true of the region to the south of Sutri, on the slopes of Monte Calvi, where cultivation has been much more thorough in dispersing and destroying any visible remains.[70] Fortunately, many of the buildings were built on foundations of concrete, or incorporated concrete walls in their construction,[71] and since this is exceedingly durable, post-Roman ploughing and digging has often been unable to destroy it. Small facing blocks of tufa *opus reticulatum* could sometimes be found and, occasionally, large, squared, tufa blocks, generally used for the foundations.[72] Mosaic tesserae were fairly common, usually made of *selce*: tesserae of white stone and fine-quality tesserae of blue and green glass were, by contrast, comparatively rare. Marble, too, was not often found, though Aegean marbles and Egyptian porphyry were represented among the fragments, as well as Italian marble from Carrara. Bricks, box flue-tiles, painted wall-plaster, or remains of architectural decoration of any sort (e.g. columns and capitals) appeared on very few sites. Among the smaller finds, in addition to both fine and coarse pottery, glass was not uncommon and two fragments of bronze were collected, besides two coins (and four others known to have been found previously). Such is a brief summary of the sort of material on which is based the following discussion of the nature of settlement in the area. Fuller details of all the sites are contained in section (iii) below, the *List of Sites*.[73]

The majority of the buildings seem to have been farmhouses of varying sizes, but most of them not very large. Judging from the density of sites, each farm would have been a comparatively small unit and the countryside would have been divided up among a series of such individual holdings.[74] There are only two of the larger sites which could have been the centres of estates of any size, namely the villas at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' and at Casale Castellaccio, both south of Sutri (see below). The number of sites to the square kilometre was very close to the number of buildings that there are to-day (particularly in the northern section of the map), and it is quite likely that the type of farming practised was also similar in nature. This consists, in the main,[75] of groups of small vineyards, alternating with fields of corn and plots of vegetables, with occasional small flocks of goats or sheep and a few cattle. In the neighbourhood of Lago di Vico, extending over a radius of about 2 km. from the lake, there are considerable traces of extensive terracing to be seen, especially at the heads of valleys and gorges. It seemed at first that this terracing might have been a relic of the Roman period; but further examination showed that it belonged to some later date. For in one part it has obliterated the course of the Roman Via Ciminia. Beyond this much, there is little that one can say about the majority of the sites, but a few of them are more interesting and deserve a brief comment to themselves.

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[69] For the post-Roman pattern of settlement, see p. 125.

[70] The cultivation belongs to some indefinite date in the past. For much of the land has been pasture in recent years, though the Ente Maremma are now beginning to plough it up once again.

[71] This concrete deserves a special note, for, apart from some 3–4 examples, it was invariably made of small chips of *selce* or local white stone (or both), mixed with some form of *pozzolana* and producing an exceedingly strong result. Sometimes a little tufa was included in the aggregate, and occasionally a less durable type of concrete was made with tufa only (e.g. 684871). Rarely was brick used (e.g. 684871, again).

The 'local white stone' employed is a hard, calcareous stone, occurring in clay of volcanic origin, which forms a ridge on top of the tufa north of Sutri.

[72] Generally 50 cm. square in section by over 1 m. long.

[73] Additional information on some sites is contained in my original notes, which can be seen in the British School. They contain, for example, the approximate measurements and orientation of the fragments of concrete walls and buildings found; it did not seem worth while to include such information in this report.

The two villas, at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' and at Casale Castellaccio (701785 and 722786), both have their own private, paved roads leading to them and this immediately marks them out from the other buildings in the district. The former villa consisted of an extensive and well-constructed main building, round which were grouped other minor buildings, including a bath-house; while the latter was really a collection of several buildings, centred on a low, but prominent, hill and decorated with marble sculpture and architectural elements. The former lies at the edge of a broad, flat ridge and there is no other site of any size between it and Sutri. The ridge would make excellent farming ground and the absence of any other large sites makes it more than possible that the villa owned it all, forming one estate of it. This estate may have survived into early medieval times.[76] In the case of the latter villa, one cannot be so sure that it, too, was the centre of an estate, for it would be dangerous to argue from size alone. There is, nonetheless, an extensive tract of open, level ground to the south-east of it, onto which leads the road that runs past the villa, and it is possible that this land belonged in some part to it. There are several other buildings on it, which one could perhaps consider as out-farms of the main villa; but this would only be a guess.

These are not the only instances of large sites in the area explored. A considerable group of buildings is situated beside the Via Ciminia about 4 km. north of Sutri (688848, with 688850 and 689850), and a second group lies at the point where this road reached the south crest of Lago di Vico (689871, 692872, etc.). This second group is interesting not only for the pair of large villas that it includes, but also for three mausolea in the vicinity, probably related to them, as well as an aqueduct serving what may have been an open fountain or trough for watering animals after the long climb up from Sutri. The first group is typical of several sites, in that it contains a concrete cistern for water storage.[77]

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[74] The density of Roman sites is approximately 3 per sq. km. This is making no allowances for the blank areas near the modern towns of Ronciglione and Bassano di Sutri and on the ridge of Monte Calvi. In the first instance, cultivation has probably removed a few buildings, in the last two, woods conceal them. The modern figures for the same areas are 4⅓ approx. per sq. km., in the more intensively cultivated, northern section of the map, but 1⅓ per sq. km., in the region south of Sutri, covering the uncultivated pasture land of the hills.

[75] i.e. in the northern section of the map.

[76] See p. 106.

One or two individual sites also reach a considerable size (e.g. 677841—50 m. by 80 m. : 689871—50 m. by 70 m. : 701829—40 m. by 70 m.) and it is likely that there were more examples of similar villas. But the rest have been too dispersed by cultivation for one to be sure of their size, while it was only by good fortune that these particular sites were recorded after only having been deep-ploughed for the first time within the last year or two. Another, smaller site (706823—22 m. by 60 m.), which had also been ploughed up only recently, was clearly quite a rich building before it was destroyed, judging by the quantity and the variety of the fine-quality tesserae which were scattered among its debris.

A bath-house, with a black and white figured mosaic and fragments of imported Aegean marble (720829), does not seem to have had a residential building attached to it and this, coupled with the vast quantities of coarse pottery which were to be found in its immediate neighbourhood, suggest that it may have been exploited commercially, the owner combining the bathing facilities with a wineshop and eating place.[78]

Finally, it is worth mentioning two brick-and-tile kilns and a pottery kiln.[79] These were established on the clay ridge north of Sutri, which has already been referred to above, and began early to exploit the natural resources of it.[80] This ridge was volcanic in origin and runs east and west across the landscape about a kilometre north of Sutri. It is never more than 1,000–1,200 m. wide and, beginning just east of the Via Ciminia, continues east to a point some ¾ km. off the map.[81] It is the only deposit of clay in the map-area, the nearest alternative being a short distance beyond the borders of the map, west of the modern town of Bassano di Sutri. The pottery produced both coarse and fine wares of various types (though not black-glazed, sigillata, or red polished ware) and one particularly distinctive fabric appears on at least three other sites in the district. The two other kilns produced bricks and tiles, including pan-tiles as well as, in one instance, cover tiles.[82]

(*iii*) *List of sites* (figs. 5, p. 78; 6, p. 82).

Note: the sites are listed strictly in terms of map references, i.e. from left to right of the area mapped and, within each vertical band, from bottom to top. On the maps of Roman sites (figs. 5 and 6), a round dot, ·, has been used to indicate a site on which nothing more substantial than pottery and tiles was found. A square, ⊡ or ■, has been used, where the evidence points definitely to the former existence of some form of building on the spot.

672829 Small Roman site. A well-defined, small group of broken tiles (in considerable numbers), as well as tufa *opus reticulatum* and tesserae of white stone; a few coarse sherds and two of sigillata; a small building. The site lies in a vineyard on a ridge and may form part of a larger site, as there are said to be other 'foundations' in the vicinity.

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[77] Cf. 682765, 688848, 690762, 722818, 728861.

[78] The visible remains seem all to belong to a bathing establishment, and this interpretation would offer a reasonable explanation of the large amount of coarse ware in its vicinity.

[79] 704828, 714814 : 713823.

[80] There was black-glazed ware at the pottery and at one of the kilns.

[81] As far as grid line 750.

[82] There were imperially-owned brick-kilns not far away, at Vicus Matrini (*CIL*, xi, 8106). No brick-stamps were found at either of the Sutri kilns.

673796 Roman site. 3–4 large blocks of tufa have been excavated in a field half-way down the south slopes of a ridge, in the side of a gully. They are said to have come from the entrance to a gallery, 60 cm. wide × 2 m. high, running into the hillside, which was not followed. It would seem to have been a *cuniculus*, tapping a spring, of which there are several in the area, and bringing the water to a fountain for a villa 100 m. above to the east (674796, *q.v.*).

673852 Roman site. Pottery (coarse and red polished ware), together with broken tiles, is strewn over the slopes below some level ground in a nutgrove, where the nucleus of the site probably lies, concealed by grass.

673868 Roman site. The debris of a moderate-sized building, situated south of the ancient, and modern, ridge-track running along the crest of the old crater of Lago di Vico; *opus spicatum*, *opus signinum*, tiles, brick and pottery, including dolium and red polished ware. There is a considerable drift of material downhill to the south, showing that the site has been under cultivation for quite a long time.

674796 Roman site. A villa once stood near the end of a high spur, on its south side. There are traces of a platform of large tufa blocks, extending 25 m. along the edge of the hill, and some fragments of disintegrated *opus signinum*, besides one *opus spicatum* brick. Long grass conceals anything else, except for a few abraded tiles and sherds; no fine pottery. Below it, to the west, there may have been a small fountain, served by a *cuniculus* (673796, *q.v.*).

674855 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of tiles, coarse sherds and red polished ware, on a ridge; *opus spicatum*. A modest building.

675819 Roman site. Widely scattered and isolated sherds of coarse ware and abraded tile fragments on the north side of a ridge; three sherds of sigillata. A much dispersed site of uncertain size.

677841 Large Roman site. A level platform on a ridge, 80 m. long × 50 m. wide, is covered with the ploughed-up debris of a fairly rich villa, from which material drifts a long way downhill to the south. Concrete, large tufa blocks, tufa *opus reticulatum*; *opus signinum*, *opis spicatum*, tesserae—of *selce*, white stone, blue and green glass; marble of three different sorts; box flue-tiles, probably indicating a set of baths; many roof-tiles. Pottery comprises coarse wares, sigillata and red polished ware.

678804 Roman site. An extensive scatter of pottery (coarse) and tiles, with one *opus spicatum* brick, on a ridge on the north-west side of a shallow gully.

678834 Roman site. A little coarse pottery, a few tiles and one sherd of red polished ware, on a slight rise on a ridge, from which periodically broken concrete and stones are said to have been dug up for many years past. Not a large site.

678851 Roman site. A concrete wall, 9 m. long, with a projection at one end containing a round cavity, lies partly buried in a vineyard. The wall formed part of a building, for which the only other evidence is one *opus spicatum* brick and a few coarse sherds and tiles.

679806 Small Roman site. A thin sprinkling of sherds and tiles, on the slopes below a narrow neck, leading to a spur on which is the small, fortified, medieval (?) site called 'Il Castellaccio' (see p. 130). There are no fine wares, but the sherds are Roman and come from a small site on the neck.

679818 Roman site. Pottery and tiles, all abraded, occur for a distance of 30–40 m. along a slightly sunken path, which runs through a wood on the north side of a broad ridge. The wood conceals any other remains there may have been in the area.

679849 Small Roman site. Sherds and tiles—few of either—on a spur on the west side of a ridge; only coarse ware.

679857 Roman site. A wide scatter of very abraded coarse sherds and tiles, over level ground on a ridge, making it difficult to judge the size of the original site.

680827 Roman cistern. A concrete cistern, 2.90 m. wide × 10. 60m. long (measured internally) stands on the west side of a ridge, with walls surviving up to 1.50 m. high. It had a concrete floor, was lined with *opus signinum* and, on the outside, its walls were supported by short, stubby buttresses, 1.40 m. high × 85 cm. wide. Of these, there were two on each of the end walls and probably seven on the long side which faced partly down a slope; the side opposite had none. The cistern has been undermined all round and the floor and walls are cracked and fallen. A few coarse sherds and tiles nearby.

680843 Roman site. Abraded coarse sherds and tiles, scattered for 100 m. along a path through a wood, indicate the presence of a site on the ridge which the path follows.

680845 Roman site. Abraded coarse sherds and tiles, scattered for 100 m. along a path through a wood; a site, further up the same ridge on which lies the previous site (680843).

681829 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of pottery and tiles along a ridge; red polished ware.

681851 Roman site. The remains of a small, but pretentious building. A few large blocks of tufa and a fragment of a moulded pilaster capital, or cornice, also of tufa; *opus signinum* and tesserae of *selce* and white stone; glass; tiles; pottery, including black-glazed and red polished ware.

682765 Roman cistern and site. The cistern stands on a rise in the west side of a ridge. It had concrete walls (local white stone aggregate) and measures 4.50 m. × 7 m.; the floor was not visible.

In ploughed ground, 20 m. to the south, were tiles, *selce* tesserae and assorted sherds (coarse, dolium, black-glazed, sigillata); a small site.

682811 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of abraded pottery and tiles, 100 m. north of the line of the Roman Via Cassia; red polished ware.

684871 Roman mausoleum (pl. XV, *a*). The concrete core of a large mausoleum crowns a rise on the south lip of the volcanic crater in which lies Lago di Vico (spot height, 608 m.). It was square, 14 m. × 14 m., and two-stepped, the base being 2 m. high and the step above surviving 1.40 m. high (9.80 m. square). A central, inner chamber is filled with earth. Concrete aggregate—primarily tufa, with one or two small pieces of brick. None of the original facing of the mausoleum survives, but a small block of hard tufa, or lava, lies beside it and may, therefore, belong to it.

685763 Roman site. Tiles, large numbers of coarse sherds (dolium) and a little sigillata cover the west slopes of a ridge just below its crest; the site once stood on top of the ridge, but has eroded down the hillside.

685801 Roman site. Coarse sherds and tile fragments, scattered over a field in a wood, indicate a site somewhere in the immediate vicinity; it was not possible to locate it exactly.

685815 Roman site. Foundations of buildings are said to have been found on a low rise, or spur, on the north side of the main ridge, in the course of planting a vineyard. There is a meagre sprinkling of pottery and tiles over the area, containing no fine wares.

688800 Roman villa. The site lies on the middle of a broad ridge, south of the ancient and modern trackway which passes along it. When visited, the area had only been ploughed twice, after being woodland, and the broad outline of the villa was still visible as a dark stain of occupation material, distinct from the lighter colour of the virgin tufa. The villa covered an area about 40 m. × 50 m., with an open courtyard on the east and two projecting wings towards the north. Broken tiles and pottery were over the whole of this area (amphora, dolium; black-glazed, sigillata, red polished ware) : brick, *opus signinum*, *selce* tesserae; large tufa blocks and a scatter of destroyed concrete (in the south-west corner); a clay lamp-spout; glass; a fragment of a small, rotary quern of lava.

688809 Roman site. A thin, but extensive, scatter of coarse pottery and tiles, south of the modern road, but north of the Roman Via Cassia, which passed about 100 m. away. The site probably lies just inside an adjacent wood.

688848 Group of Roman buildings. Two concrete cisterns and parts of two other buildings lie within 80 m. of each other, a short distance west of the Via Ciminia. Coarse sherds and tiles are dispersed over the whole area and concentrated by the southernmost building (4), where there is also glass, sigillata, and red polished ware. Within 200 m. there were also two further buildings, probably connected with the same group (688850 and 689850, below).

1. Barrel-vaulted, concrete cistern, now the cellar of a *casale*, 3.50 m. wide × 10 m. long approx.; *opus signinum* floor. A dolium was found inside it, when it was cleaned out for re-use.
2. A small room, 2.50 m. square approx., the lower parts of whose walls survive on three sides, incorporated in a pigsty; walls of tufa *opus reticulatum*, with a brick course, faced on the inside with *opus signinum*, which also forms the floor. Part of a bath-house?
3. A large concrete cistern, 8 m. × 12 m., whose roof has collapsed, now overgrown and filled with earth. Its south wall stands up to 3 m. high.
4. Two concrete walls just protruding from the ground in a vineyard, forming the corner of a room, 6.50 m. wide × 16 m. long.

688850 Roman site. Two brick walls at right-angles, on rough concrete foundations, have been re-used as the basis of a modern straw hut; the walls stand only up to eight courses high. Bricks and tiles nearby; coarse pottery. The Via Ciminia passed within 100 m. and there are other Roman buildings in the vicinity, to which this one was probably related (688848 and 689850).

689850 Roman site. Scattered coarse sherds, in quantity, and tile fragments, over a well-defined area which must have lain very close to the line of the Via Ciminia; glass and red polished ware. Other Roman sites are situated in the immediate vicinity, to which this one was probably related (688848 and 688850).

689852 Small Roman site. East of the line of the Via Ciminia is a small group of pottery (coarse) and tiles, together with tufa *opus reticulatum* blocks, *opus signinum*, *opus spicatum* and a small fragment of lead; not a large building.

689870 Roman site. A bramble-covered platform of concrete, 8 m. wide × 13 m. long, the foundation of an unknown building; tiles. It probably formed one with the group of nearby buildings, clustered round the point where the Via Ciminia reached the south crest of Lago di Vico (689871, 689872, 692872).

689871 Roman site. The ploughed-out remains of a villa, covering an area 50 m. × 70 m., beside the Via Ciminia (fig. 8, p. 102). Large tufa blocks, lumps of concrete, tiles, bricks, and large voussoir bricks from an arch; *opus signinum*, tesserae (of *selce*, white stone and blue glass) and green and purple porphyry; many pieces of fine glass and two bronze coins, one of Vespasian (diam. 2.3 cm.), the other too worn to be legible, the former in the possession of the owner of the ground. Coarse pottery is profuse, with amphora, sigillata, and red polished ware. Nearby is another large villa and several other buildings, including mausolea and a cistern (689870, 689872, 692872).

689872 Two Roman mausolea. The stubby remains of a pair of mausolea, on the south crest of Lago di Vico, north of the Via Ciminia and beside the Roman road, or track, which led west along the crest of the old crater. One mausoleum survives as a concrete platform, the other as a mere grass-grown mound, from which project fragments of concrete; a few sherds in the immediate vicinity, including black-glazed and red polished ware (fig. 8, p. 102). Nearby there are the remains of two villas, besides other buildings (689870, 689871, 692872, *q.v.*).

690762 Roman cistern and site. The cistern has walls of concrete (*selce* aggregate), surviving 2 m. high in places, with traces of *opus signinum* lining on their inner faces. It measures 5 m. × 11 m. approximately and stands on the centre of a ridge, on a slight rise.

20 m. south-west, on the edge of the ridge, is a scatter of *selce* chips from destroyed concrete, together with *opus spicatum* and tiles, coarse pottery, sigillata and red polished ware.

690766 Small Roman site. A handful of coarse sherds and one or two tiles, in a small group on a ridge; a ploughed-out burial?

690807 Large Roman site. *Opus spicatum*, mounds of tile-fragments and pottery, including amphora and red polished ware, cover a large area immediately west of a modern farmhouse (spot height, 338 m.) and drift in diminishing quantities 300 m. down a valley to the east. The site lies just north of the line of the Roman Via Cassia.

691811 Roman site. A bramble-covered slab of concrete, 4 m. × 4 m. approximately, undermined in places, on a minor spur projecting from the north side of the ridge along which runs the Roman Via Cassia. Brick, tile, coarse ware, and perhaps some fragments of large tufa blocks are scattered down the slopes of the spur.

691849 Small Roman site. A little abraded pottery, together with a few tiles, but no fine wares; perhaps a burial.

692832 Roman site. A grass-covered mound, 8 m. square, constitutes the visible nucleus of a site, on a minor spur, on the east side of a wide ridge. *Opus reticulatum*, concrete (*selce* (?) aggregate), marble, tiles; coarse pottery, dolium; none of it in large quantities.

692872 LARGE ROMAN SITE. On the south side of Lago di Vico, on the crest of the old volcanic crater, are the remains of an extensive Roman site, comprising several separate buildings, grouped together at the point where the Via Ciminia reached the lake after its long climb up from Sutri. Besides the buildings described below, there are also others in the immediate vicinity, belonging to the same group, but situated a little further to the west, namely a villa, two mausolea and an indeterminate concrete platform (689870, 689871, 689872). A third mausoleum lies 500 m. still further west (684871) and below, to the east, is a further Roman site and an aqueduct (693874, 694873).

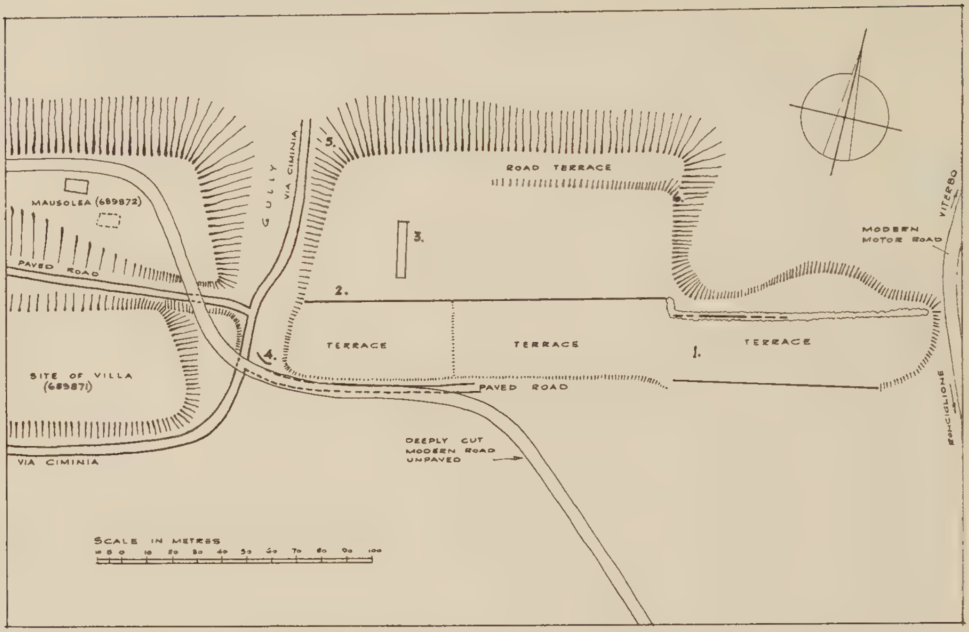

Fig. 8. The Via Ciminia and Adjoining Roman Sites on the South Crest of the Lago di Vico

1. A villa occupied a series of three terraces, facing south, of which the westernmost one is at a slightly higher level than the other two (fig. 8). The main building stood on the easternmost terrace, on the north side of which is an overgrown wall up to 1 m. high, of concrete, faced with small tufa blocks in regular courses, and the south side of which is supported by another concrete wall, 2.50–3 m. high, whose facing has been destroyed. This second wall is about 85 m. long and there are traces of engaged columns, or pilasters, every 2 m., built of the same concrete, as an integral part of the wall; originally the wall must have been faced with stucco. The entrance to two underground store-sheds, cut in the tufa below the terrace, opens through it (pl. XV, *c*) : but the remains of crude masonry walls towards its east end belong to a much later (medieval ?) house, built against it. It was on this easternmost terrace that most of the pottery and other finds were collected : *selce* tesserae, painted wall-plaster, several fragments of marble ('*africano*') and considerable quantities of tiles and pottery, including sigillata and red polished ware; glass.

2. A concrete wall runs along the north side of the central and western terrace of the villa (1), supporting the south side of the field above. It is up to 3 m. high and at one point is faced with 5–6 courses of brick, above and below which is *opus quadratum* facing in small tufa blocks. Towards its west end a *cuniculus* is visible, incorporated in the wall itself and running along it, and it may be that this wall is a continuation of the aqueduct which can be seen 300 m. away, down beside the gorge which forms the outlet from Lago di Vico (694873, *q.v.*).

3. A cistern, or open fountain, stands in the field north of the villa. It is rectangular, 3.50 m. wide × 24 m. long, built of concrete and lined with *opus signinum*, with broad, flat mouldings across the corners. Its walls survive about 80 cm. high, and it is possible that they were never much higher, the structure acting as an open fountain, or trough.

4. The curved edge of a concrete platform protrudes from a grass bank, west of the villa, at the head of a broad gully, or cutting.

5. Many large fragments of concrete, mostly fallen, are grouped at the bottom end of the same broad gully, or cutting, at its east side. They belong to some form of vaulted structure running into the hillside, but the entrance is now blocked. According to local sources, it continued as a 'tunnel' into the hill, adjacent to which there was a second 'tunnel.'

6. Some poor-quality concrete is visible in the cliff face on the north-east side of the hill; not much of it is to be seen and it is inaccessible.

693780 Small Roman site. A few coarse sherds and tile fragments, in the centre of a ridge, at its end; not a large site.

693874 Roman site. In the course of making a modern petrol filling station, half a dozen large tufa blocks are said to have been found in a row, each having a well-cut groove along one side. Two of the blocks survive, and a little of the pottery found with them, including amphora and sigillata. The full extent of the site remains unknown.

694759 Roman site. Abraded sherds and many abraded tiles, on the east slopes of a hill (spot height, 489 m.), probably came from a site near the top of the hill on its east-north-east side. The site has been ploughed many times and the sherds are few and indeterminate.

694762 Two Small Roman sites. Two small groups of pottery and tiles (one containing sigillata) lie 30 m. apart, on the north slopes of the hill, near the top of which once stood the previous site (694759). They may represent either small outbuildings, or burials, connected with the larger site (cf. the next site, 694763).

694763 Small Roman site. A few coarse sherds and tiles in a group on the hillside, 100 m. south of the two sites above (694762). Again they may represent either a small building or a burial.

694764 *Cuniculus.* A *cuniculus*, cut in the tufa, can be seen on the east side of the deeply sunken trackway connecting Bassano and Trevignano. It runs parallel to the track, which has largely destroyed it. There is no sign of a site above. By itself it is too little to prove that this track, or at least this part of the track, had an ancient origin.

694769 Roman site. Much pottery and broken tile, covering a wide area on a level spur; one sherd of sigillata.

694873 ROMAN AQUEDUCT. Built of concrete, it lies wholly or partly underground, running 117 m. across a field between the modern road and the gorge which forms the exit from Lago di Vico. It consists, in essence, of a broad concrete wall (1.50 m. wide × 2.30 m. high), through the middle of which runs a water channel, or *cuniculus*, lined with *opus signinum* (54 cm. wide × over a metre high). It crosses a dip in the ground, involving a difference in level of about 2 m., by dropping down and up again in four straight sections, with well-marked points where the angle of slope alters between one section and the next. At its east end it stops abruptly, broken away on the lip of the gorge, while at its west end it has been cut by the modern road; but a few loose stones in the west bank of the road may mark its continuation beyond. It presumably served the group of sites above, to the south-west, on the lip of the crater of Lago di Vico, where the Via Ciminia reached the lake after its long climb up from Sutri, and it may well be that the *cuniculus* visible in the thickness of a wall, towards the west end of the main site (692872, no. 2, *q.v.*), is in fact a continuation of the same aqueduct.

695801 Roman site. Coarse ware, black-glazed and tiles, on the neck of a short spur running south. The end of the spur is covered with trees, and the site may have been bigger than the small scatter of material indicates.

695815 Roman site. Concrete walls project from a field-bank, at three points on the north side of a gully leading down to the Valle Montone. In two instances, the walls are hollow, containing a vaulted recess, and resemble the broad buttresses which sometimes support the outer walls of large cisterns. They may, however, be nothing more than foundations, or podia. (For similar features, cf. the projections, or buttresses, on the outer walls of the larger concrete structure at 699819 and on the concrete building at 726828.) Concrete aggregate—local white stone. Coarse ware, sigillata, a few tiles and one or two bricks.

695828 Roman site. A Roman villa occupied a site on an isolated spur at the head of a valley: foundations of large blocks of tufa; concrete, incorporating brick in its aggregate; crude *opus signinum*; marble; bricks and tiles; pottery, including red polished ware. The Via Ciminia passed within 100 m. of the site.

695835 Roman site. A grass-covered platform, 8 m. × 9 m., from which concrete protrudes, stands at the end of a low ridge. Sherds on the slopes below it are much abraded, but include red polished ware; a few tiles. Probably not a large site.

695861 Roman site. A rectangular, concrete building, 4 m. × 11 m. approximately, mostly underground, now serves as a shed. It has a concrete floor and the walls stand up to 2.30 m. high: aggregate—*selce* and tufa. The south wall has been razed by the present owner and a medieval, or modern, dividing wall runs across its centre. A refuse dump from the surrounding vineyards (which otherwise have completely removed any surface debris) contained dolium, *opus spicatum* and tiles. The building lies on the south slopes of a ridge, at the head of a valley.

696762 Roman site. A prolific scatter of tiles and pottery (coarse ware, sigillata and red polished ware), in a sheltered dell, east of the cross-country track connecting Bassano and Trevignano.

696771 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of sherds and tiles on a ridge; no fine wares. Not an extensive site.

697764 Roman site. A moderate scatter of tiles and pottery, including black-glazed ware, on a level part of a long ridge.

697800 Roman site. A thin scatter of coarse sherds and tiles at the edge of a wood, into which the site may extend, thereby rendering it difficult to estimate its real size.

697879 *Cuniculus*. A *cuniculus* runs 6 m. into the tufa before becoming blocked by earth, behind a cave which has cut into it. The cave contains the remains of crude, medieval (?) walling.

698766 Roman site. Coarse sherds and tiles, scattered over 100 m. length of a ridge, but never very numerous; red polished ware.

698820 Roman site. Coarse sherds and tile fragments cover a terrace, on the east side of a valley through which passes the Via Ciminia. Underground are said to be the concrete foundations of a series of 'stanzette,' or little rooms, the concrete being like that of the nearby Roman structures at 699819. In the field above were more sherds, still only coarse, and a heavy, clay loom-weight.

698848 Roman site. The concrete foundations of a Roman building, 11 m. wide × at least 23 m. long, are incorporated in the cellars of a present-day farmhouse and traces of further walls are to be seen, buried in the ground, 30 m. to the north. Several sections of tufa *opus reticulatum* have been re-used in the walls of the farmhouse, besides parts of a patterned black and white mosaic floor; the fragments are not large enough, however, to allow one to reconstruct the original design. Part of a small relief in white marble, of excellent workmanship, has also been found in the area; on it is represented a lighted torch and a miniature Corinthian capital and column, both in high relief. A little coarse pottery and red polished ware is scattered in nearby vinyards.

699819 Roman site. A large, rectangular structure, 10 m. × 25 m. approx., built of concrete, lies partly underground, on the east side of a valley through which runs the Via Ciminia. There are two projections, or hollow 'buttresses,' on one of its long sides and traces of two other similar features on the side opposite. These features occur on other concrete buildings in the area (cf. 695815, 726828) and may, in fact, be buttresses (but the undoubted buttresses which support the walls of a concrete cistern at 680827 (*q.v.*) are solid, not hollow). A little coarse pottery, tiles and red polished ware.

A smaller, square concrete building, 4 m. × 4 m., with its flat roof still intact, lies a short distance to the east. It has further walls attached and served as a cistern, there being traces of an *opus signinum* lining in one corner. Two other concrete buildings lie within 100 m. and probably formed one group with these two (698820, 699820).

699820 Roman site. An overgrown structure of Roman concrete, 4 m. wide × 10 m. long, stands just south of a modern cart-track and within 100 m. of other Roman buildings (698820, 699819). Its walls survive up to 1.50 m. high and it has been used as a house or shed at some stage in its history, a doorway being cut through one of its end walls.

700763 Small Roman site. A few tiles and a few sherds, including red polished ware, over a small area in a sheltered dell.

700771 Small Roman site. A small group of tiles and pottery, including red polished ware, on the south end of a narrow saddle leading to a hill 100 m. away to the north, on which there is another Roman site with which this one was probably connected (700772, below).

700772 Roman site. Coarse pottery, red polished ware and broken tiles, over a considerable area of a flat hillock-top. Probably related to it is a smaller site, 100 m. away (700771, above).

700792 Roman site. Tiles and a little pottery (no fine wares), centred on a slight rise, from which odd sherds drift 100 m. downhill to the east; not a large site.

700799 Roman site. Very scattered and abraded coarse sherds and tile fragments, on a hillock south of the ancient and modern ridgeway. Cultivation has dispersed the sherds so much, that the original position of the site from which they came is impossible to locate.

700802 Roman site. Broken tiles and pottery (coarse, amphora and red polished ware), on top of a slight rise and on the slopes around it. Most of the topsoil has eroded off the summit of this particular hillock.

700882 Small Roman site. A scatter of coarse ware, with 1–2 tiles, all abraded, down the east slopes of a hill from which the topsoil has eroded away.

701785 ROMAN VILLA, AT 'S. GIOVANNI A POLLO.' On a spur running south from a wide ridge called 'Piazzano,' are the foundations of a considerable Roman villa, to which led a private paved road, coming directly from Sutri about 2 km. away (see p. 88).

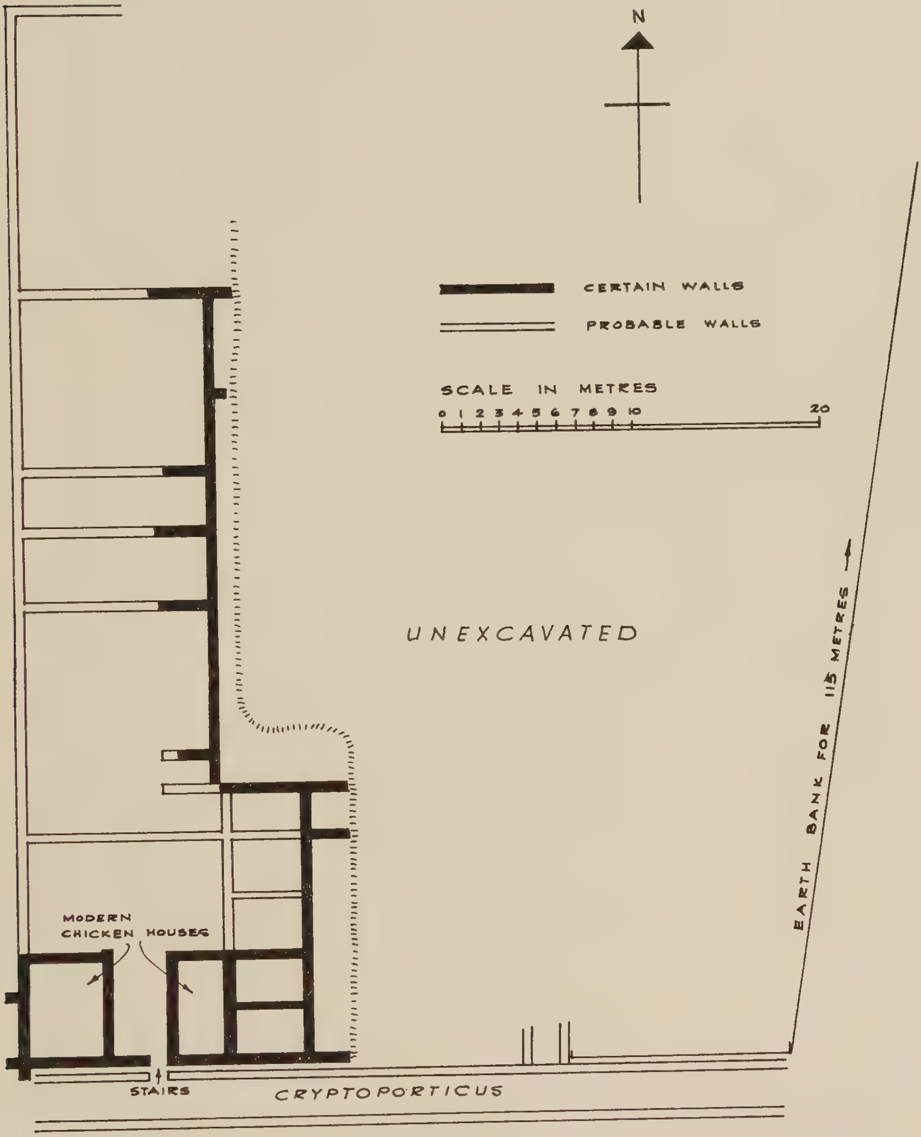
N
CERTAIN WALLS
PROBABLE WALLS
SCALE IN METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
20
UNEXCAVATED
EARTH BANK FOR 115 METRES
MODERN CHICKEN HOUSES
STAIRS
CRYPTOPORTICUS

FIG. 9. 'SAN GIOVANNI A POLLO': THE CENTRAL BLOCK OF THE ROMAN VILLA

Of the main building only the foundations of the walls survive, composed of massive, squared blocks of tufa; but it proved possible to recover something of the plan of it, by observing the excavations carried out by the present owner of the site in the course of preparing a new vineyard (fig. 9). The building was probably rectangular, 41 m. × 56 m. approx., with rows of rooms grouped round what seems to have been a central courtyard. Along the south face of it ran a cryptoporticus, with stairs up to the building above, towards its west end. None of the floors of this building have survived.

25 m. north-west from the south-west corner of the main building, a room with concrete walls is said to have been excavated, having a floor of *opus spicatum* laid on *opus signinum* and a lead pipe passing through its north wall. Scattered over the ground around this spot were the remains of *opus spicatum,* box flue-tiles, painted wall-plaster and tesserae (of *selce,* white stone and green glass), indicating the presence of a small bath-house. There are also said to have been further concrete walls north of the main building, but only isolated traces of these were to be seen, as the area of excavation for the vineyard did not extend that far.

100 m. south of the villa, the spur on which it lies ends in an artificial cliff, formed probably by the original builders, who quarried the end of it away to obtain the tufa with which to construct the villa (pl. XX, *a*). The cliff face is about 9 m. high and running up into it is a rock-cut corridor with a shallow, vaulted roof (3.70 m. high × 2.18 m. wide), which presumably led up to the villa above. It is now blocked by earth, however, after 33 m. Originally there may well have been a portico along the foot of the cliff, to which this corridor gave access.

Isolated finds made in excavating the villa include an elaborate Ionic capital for an engaged column (diam. 32 cm.) (pl. XXI, *a*), two identical Doric capitals, together with the top of their column shafts (20 flutes: diam. 36 cm.), both of tufa, and a section of a tufa column shaft, related to the same capitals (20 flutes: diam. 38 cm.); a fragment of a column of travertine, two fragments of marble and two blocks of a type of peperino, or hard tufa, having a simple roll moulding along one edge; some fragments of *opus signinum,* bricks, tiles and window-glass. Small finds include glass and profuse quantities of coarse pottery (dolium), as well as black-glazed, sigillata and red polished ware. A well-preserved, bronze coin of Maximinus I Thrax has also been found on the site, dated A.D. 236–238. Obv. MAXIMINUS PIUS AUG GERM. Emperor's bust, r. Rev. VICTORIA GERMANICA S.C. Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm, with captive at her feet. Diam. 2.8 cm. Mattingly, Sydenham and Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage,* IV, ii, 147]. A second, smaller coin (diam. 1 cm. approx.), likewise found there, is said to have had a similar head on it, but this coin I never saw.

Towards the west end of the cliff face, at the end of the spur, there are the remains of a small chapel, partly cut in the rock and partly built out from it (dimensions—approx. 5.50 m. long × 4.06 m. wide, or 6.29 m. at the rock-cut end, which is wider) (pl. XX, *b*). The chapel is now roofless, but contains a small recess cut in its east wall, and a fresco over where presumably the altar stood, at its north end, now faded and battered.[83] Besides the chapel, there are eight semi-circular burial niches cut in the cliff face, five of them grouped by the chapel and clearly related to it, and one horizontal, rectangular loculus, as well as 11 narrow, vertical niches, or shrines, singly or in pairs. Two further semi-circular niches once existed at the lower end of the corridor leading up through the rock towards the villa. They were lined with plaster and painted, but a recent widening of the corridor has almost destroyed them. A last vertical niche and a small semi-circular one are cut in the side of the spur facing west, beyond the west end of the cliff face. Other caves and openings in the cliff are for a fountain and to house the chickens who have given the site its present name.

The villa itself seems to have been continuously occupied from late Republican times, at least until the beginning of the third century A.D. and, though the chapel in its present form dates from the early Middle Ages, the presence of the burial niches suggest that it represents the continuation of a much older tradition, perhaps sub-Roman. One is left to speculate, therefore, whether the villa itself survived into sub-Roman or post-Roman times and, if so, in what form it survived—interesting questions, to which only scientific excavation could provide a certain answer.

A possible clue is given by a charter of the eleventh century. The present name for the adjacent ridge is 'Piazzano.' This may perhaps be identified with the *casale* 'Picazano' mentioned as a boundary of the *casale* 'Colonia' in a charter of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Mica Aurea for 1026.[84] If so, we know there was an estate here in the eleventh century and it is tempting to guess that this estate was the continuation of a pre-existing Roman one, which survived until then, even if the villa did not. But it is no more than a guess.

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[83] For a fuller account of the chapel and of the fresco, in particular, see p. 127.

[84] Fedele, 'Carte del monastero dei SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea,' *Archivio di Storia Patria Romana,* xxii, 1899, 43, no. XXVIII: "a primo latere casale qui appellatur Ofiano, a secundo latere casale qui appellatur Picazano; a tertio latere casale qui appellatur Casanellu et vinee de Bacerratu, a quarto latere vinee de casale Novelletu, qui sunt de homines (*sic*) de Plocainnu."

This note was contributed by P. R. L. Brown.

701819 Roman site. A concrete wall, 12 m. long, with local white stone aggregate, lies in a field, south of the present-day cart-track, chiefly underground and surrounded by tile-fragments and assorted pottery, including red polished ware, the remains of some indeterminate building.

701822 Small (?) Roman site. Broken tiles and a few coarse sherds, with one fragment of black-glazed ware, are scattered over a small area on a hillock, but also spread 200 m. downhill to the south, so that the original site may have been bigger than it now seems to be.

701829 Large Roman site. When visited, the site, a rise on a long ridge (spot height, 390 m.), had only recently been ploughed for the first time and the result was a prolific scatter of pottery and tiles, including black-glazed ware, covering an area, 70 m. × 40 m. This must represent the remains of a fair-sized building, even though no more specific traces of building debris were found.

701838 Roman site. A scattered group of tiles and pottery (coarse; sigillata), on a spur on the west side of the ridge.

701843 Roman site. Tiles, coarse ware and red polished ware, scattered in a vineyard on the ridge.

701855 Roman site. Three walls of a rectangular, concrete building survive, incorporated in the foundations of a modern barn. Though partly underground, they stand 2.50 m. high and the building measured 11.10 m. long × at least 3.25 m. wide. Concrete aggregate—*selce*. Whether it has a concrete floor too is uncertain, since it was not possible to enter the barn. The building might perhaps have been a cistern.

Nearby, to the south, at 20 m. and at 50 m. distance from this building, other similar walls are said to have been found in the course of cultivation; but nothing is to be seen above ground, nor are there any sherds or tiles visible.

701872 Roman site. On the high point of a long ridge are the remains of a platform of coarse concrete (of unknown size), besides *opus spicatum* bricks, tiles, glass and a little coarse pottery (one fragment of sigillata).

702799 Tomb. A square, rock-cut chamber (containing three *loculi*) opens off an artificial terrace, on the east side of a re-entrant valley running up towards the ridge-crest to the north; the roof of the tomb is cut as a shallow vault. 100 m. away is another, more elaborate tomb (702800, *q.v.*), and there are two intervening caves, which might also have been tombs originally, though there is no evidence to show that they were.

702800 Tomb (fig. 4. p. 75). A roughly square, rock-cut chamber, containing one, or perhaps more, *loculi* (the right side of the tomb being concealed by earth). The *loculus* visible at the rear of the tomb, is embodied in a sort of ornamental 'bed,' carved out of the tufa. This 'bed' has two gables, one at either end, each of which has a socket for a ridge-post running from one to the other. On this ridge-post rested tiles, or, less likely, slabs of stone or marble, which formed a roof over the 'bed' and perhaps covered a body laid under them, as well as a second body in the *loculus* below. A very similar 'bed,' of the same type, occurs in another tomb, about 3 km. away (732791), but without the ridge-post. It is possible that the ridge-post and *loculi* are secondary features due to a re-use of the tomb. The tomb lies at the head of a re-entrant valley and 100 m. away is a second, simpler tomb, likewise cut in the tufa (702799).

702818 Roman site. A thin scatter of pottery (one fragment of black-glazed ware) together with broken tiles and a blue glass tessera, 100 m. south-east of the crest of a slight rise, where there are further isolated sherds. Also one fragment of local grey ware, from the Roman pottery at 713823 (*q.v.*).

703764 Roman site. Coarse, sigillata and red polished ware, with broken tiles, scattered over a flat ridge-end. The area is covered with grass and it is difficult to estimate the size of the site.

703790 Roman site. Pottery and some tile-fragments (no fine wares), scattered over a field below, and east of, the Roman paved road to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785), which is here ploughed through.

703852 Concrete slab, of uncertain age. A concrete slab, 3 m. × 7 m., which may once have formed part of a vault, but which now has a large hole in the middle of it, lies overgrown and buried in a hedge, beside a path running north-south; aggregate—medium-sized lumps of tufa. No pottery was found and, as far as could be seen, the concrete could have been either Roman or medieval.

704793 Roman site. Nineteen large tufa blocks form a field embankment along the top of a rise and lie beside a nearby hut. Two of the blocks are in fact composed of a 'sandwich,' of two tufa slabs with *opus signinum* in between, and there are fragments of a third, similar block. There were many broken tiles in the area, but no sherds, except modern ones.

704821 Roman site. Tiles, a blue glass tessera, coarse and red polished ware, lying in a field just west of the modern road and drifting some way down a gully to the east of it.

704828 ROMAN BRICK-AND-TILE KILN. On level ground, on a ridge composed of clay, not of tufa, is a platform, 8 m. square, with traces of crude concrete underground at its east side. It is surrounded by many fragments of bricks and tiles, including wasters of both sorts (a dozen examples were found), but there are only a few sherds of coarse pottery. The site represents a kiln, exploiting the clay outcrop, and a small site, 100 m. to the north, was probably connected with it (704829, below). No brick-stamps were found.

704829 Small Roman site. Tiles, coarse ware, amphora, glass and the remains of crude concrete, at the head of a gully. The concrete resembles that at a brick-and-tile kiln 100 m. to the south (704828, above), and probably indicates that the two sites were associated. A bronze coin of Nerva was found on the site, dated to October, A.D. 97 [*Obv.* IMP NERVA CAES AUG P M TR P II COS III P P. Emperor's head, laur., r. *Rev.* CONCORDIA EXERCITUUM S.C. Clasped hands. Diam., 2.5 cm. Good condition. Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, 229].

705764 Roman site. Tiles, *opus spicatum*, coarse and red polished ware drift for some distance down the slopes below, and north of, a modern road, still under construction. Above the road is woodland in which the site probably lies, on the end of the long ridge of Monte Calvi.

705771 Small Roman site. A small site occupied the top of a little, isolated knoll, at the end of a spur—large tufa blocks, tiles, pottery (coarse, amphora; sigillata, red polished ware), and a fragment of a moulded, blue glass bowl.

705802 Flint blade. A small flint blade, about 4 cm. long, made from a coarse type of flint, was found on the ridge to the south of Sutri. A similar one, but of better quality flint, was found 1½ km. further south (708788, *ad fin.*). The two of them constitute the only signs of prehistory which were discovered within the map area.

705850 Roman site. An underground room, 6 m. × 12 m. approx., with concrete floor and lower walls (*selce* aggregate) and tufa *opus reticulatum* above, forms the cellar of a modern farmhouse, 'Casale Saccone.' It probably formed part of a group of buildings, of which further traces are to be seen behind a neighbouring farmhouse, 100 m. away (706850).

705872 Roman site. A handful of pottery, including black-glazed ware, scattered over a small area; no tiles. Perhaps a burial.

706775 Roman site. Widely scattered abraded sherds and tiles, on a platform of level ground, on a ridge; red polished ware. A considerable site, much dispersed.

706783 Small Roman site. A few tiles and sherds, including black-glazed ware and sigillata, on a saddle south of a hillock; not a large site.

706793 Small Roman site. A few abraded tiles and sherds (coarse), in a field south of a modern path, but probably north of the Roman paved road leading to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo'; a burial (?).

706806 Group of burial niches. Five semi-circular burial niches and two small, vertical votive niches are to be seen in the cliff face, north of the modern Via Cassia and on the east side of a wide re-entrant valley. They form a small group at the bottom end of the valley; all but the votive niches are partly broken, because of falls from the cliff face.

706823 Rich Roman site. When visited, the site had only been ploughed once or twice and the debris of it still covered a fairly well defined rectangle, 22 m. × 60 m., probably more or less the shape and size of the original building. It lies just east of the modern road, Sutri–Ronciglione, on a slight ridge. Much of the structure seems to have been composed of *pozzolana* concrete, of a reasonably soft variety, faced with tufa and with brick bonding courses; but there are also several fragments of harder concrete. There was window-glass, marble, *opus spicatum* and many loose tesserae from a very fine mosaic, comprising three types of stone and no less than 11 shades of glass tesserae, mostly blue and green. Small finds included glass and a small bronze ring, probably from a chain. Coarse pottery, black-glazed, sigillata and red polished ware.

706850 Roman site. Walls of concrete (with tufa and *selce* aggregate) and of tufa *opus reticulatum* on a concrete basis, with a levelling brick course between the two, line three sides of a pit behind a modern farmhouse. There are traces of other walls buried in the ground nearby, together with bricks and tiles, *opus signinum*, *selce* tesserae and pottery (no fine wares). A small group of Roman buildings occupied the spot and probably related to them is a further building 100 m. distant, under a neighbouring farmhouse (705850, *q.v.*). A funerary inscription has been found here (*CIL*, xi, 7545) (pl. XVIII, *a*).

706876 Roman site. Remains of a rectangular, concrete structure, 7 m. × 8 m., whose walls protrude from the grass and from the side of a slightly sunken path which cuts across the north end of them; it is said to have a concrete floor a little below ground level. Three coarse sherds and a few tiles.

707787 Hill, once inhabited. A prominent hill, surrounded by a stream on three sides, has traces of rock-cut foundations, platforms and terraces, on its summit and the remains of a dam and sluice-gate beside the stream. Immediately opposite it is a tomb, a group of burial niches and a Roman site (708788), but there were no other signs of any ancient occupation to be seen on the hill itself, even though the site is a perfect one.

707793 Small Roman site. A few abraded sherds, all coarse, and very abraded tile-fragments, in a small group just south of the line of the Roman paved road leading to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo'; remains of a burial?

707798 Roman site. A scatter of abraded coarse sherds and tiles in a vineyard, on a slight rise. Not a very large site, but it might have extended into an adjacent nut-grove up the slope.

707813 Roman site. A rectangular, concrete building, 7.50 m. × 10.50 m., parts of whose walls protrude above ground, on the east side of a ridge; aggregate—local white stone. A fragment of red polished ware among the few sherds and tiles to be found.

707837 Roman site. Tiles and pottery, including sigillata and red polished ware, all fairly abraded, over a considerable area on the north side of a low ridge; a moderate site, dispersed by cultivation.

708788 A tomb group, a *cuniculus* and a Roman site. An artificial terrace, 45 m. long, has been cut in antiquity across the end of a ridge, or spur, and eight burial niches are carved in its north face, together with the entrance to a large tomb. The niches are all semi-circular and each has a recess, or *loculus*, in its floor, for a burial. The tomb consists of a rectangular chamber, cut in the tufa, preceded by a long dromos and containing eight *loculi*, in two instances in a double tier, one above the other, and one of the *loculi* cut in the east side of the dromos outside. All the *loculi* have some simple form of moulding round them, but one is more elaborate than the others, with a head-rest, and false legs carved on the tufa face below it. The tomb may pre-date the niches (*cf.* p. 74).

Besides the terrace mentioned above, several other wide steps and platforms have been cut in the end of the same spur, one of which has partly intersected a *cuniculus* running obliquely across it.

Very abraded Roman pottery, including red polished ware, and a few tile-fragments lie on the slopes immediately west of these terraces and platforms, covering a considerable area, but never very numerous.

Opposite this spur is an isolated hill, forming an ideal site, but there is no sign of any ancient occupation on it (707787). But a small flint blade, 4 cm. long (the point broken off) and worked on both edges, was found beside the stream which flows between the spur and the hill, on its northern bank. One other similar blade was found in the area, on the ridge to the south of Sutri (705802).

708801 Roman site. Pottery, including black-glazed ware, and tiles cover a large area, on a rise 100 m. south of the church of S. Maria del Carmine and drift a considerable distance downhill to the east. The site occupies an excellent position, looking across towards the town of Sutri.

708806 Group of burial niches. Eight or nine semi-circular burial niches are cut in the cliff face on the east side of the large defensive ditch at the west end of Sutri. They are grouped together towards the south end of the ditch.

708879 Roman site. A rectangular concrete building, probably a cistern, 8 m. × 18.50 m. approx., has walls surviving up to 2 m. high; concrete aggregate—*selce* and tufa. Earth conceals any floor that it may have. It stands at the end of a high spur and is surrounded by quantities of coarse pottery, besides sigillata and red polished ware, indicating that there was also a house of some sort which this cistern served.

709767 Roman site. Stubby remains of concrete walls and many chips from broken-up concrete, around a platform, 8 m. × 17 m., on a knoll, at the end of a ridge. Tiles and pottery, including black-glazed ware, drift 300 m. downhill to the north.

709777 Small Roman site. A small group of sherds (all coarse), with some broken tiles, scattered along a ridge; not a large site.

709783 Two small Roman sites. Two groups of tiles, coarse pottery and black-glazed ware, 30 m. apart on a ridge; a pair of ploughed-out burials?

709788 Store sheds and quarry. Five long, rock-cut and barrel-vaulted tunnels radiate out from an open tufa quarry and are used as store sheds, in so far as they are not filled with water. There is nothing to indicate that they are ancient.

709795 *Cuniculus.* On the west side of a cutting, up which ran the Roman paved road leading to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785), 40 m. up from the bottom of the cutting, there is a rock-cut *cuniculus*, 2 m. above present road-level and running obliquely into the tufa. It reappears a short distance away, in the sides of a medieval cutting, which intersects it, and it discharges into the valley from the cliff face beyond. Presumably it once served to drain the Roman road.

709814 Small Roman site. Isolated coarse pottery and tiles, scattered over a small area on the west side of a ridge.

709837 Roman site. Tiles (in quantity) and sherds, including sigillata, spread downhill from a low ridge, east of the modern road, Sutri–Ronciglione. One fragment of green marble.

710793 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of sherds and tiles, in a dip, or dell, east of the Roman paved road leading to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo.'

710795 *Cuniculus.* At the bottom of a cutting up which ran the Roman paved road leading to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo,' there is a *cuniculus*, which appears momentarily in a break in the rock, on the south side of the present track.

710826 Roman site. On a hilltop, at the south-west corner of a modern farmyard, are the ploughed-out remains of concrete walls, of which one or two fragments still survive in the ground; aggregate—local white stone. Half a dozen large tufa blocks, *opus spicatum*, tiles and pottery, including sigillata and red polished ware.

711798 *Cuniculus.* A present-day track intersects a rock-cut *cuniculus*, which crosses it obliquely at road-level, near the bottom of a cutting. The *cuniculus* could not be traced further in either direction.

711802 Six tombs. They form part of the ancient cemetery of Sutri and are cut in the south side of the Valle Mazzano, immediately opposite the town. They lie in two groups 80 m. apart, but the three in the western group have mostly collapsed. There is a *columbarium* in this group; and in the other, one tomb, now half buried, has a gable carved over the door, enclosing a recess for a *titulus.* Another tomb in the same group has its door set back under an arch, with a recess for a *titulus* above, flanked by two small windows, and the interior of it still retains much of its original plaster, especially on the ceiling and the upper parts of the walls. The plaster, was painted, black on the ceiling and white on the walls, with panels (squares, circles and diamonds) outlined in red and white. There are further caves east of this group, as far as the foot of the nearby Etruscan cutting (711801), where they lie on both sides of the road. None, however, extend as far as the Roman cutting beyond (712800). Some of them at least may have been tombs in origin, even if recutting has now removed all traces of the fact. If so, they would have been either Etruscan tombs or, perhaps more likely, early Roman ones, indicating that this 'Etruscan' cutting was not replaced immediately by its successor to the east, but continued in use into the Roman period, until the engineers of the paved road to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo' decided to make a fresh cutting, rather than re-use the existing one, perhaps considering it unsafe because of falls.

711819 Roman site. Roman tiles and pottery (coarse and black-glazed ware), scattered over a low ridge, together with some comparatively modern brick.

711836 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of tiles and pottery along a low ridge; red polished ware.

711848 Roman site. A moderate quantity of pottery and tiles, on a ridge west of the modern road, the so-called 'Via Cassia Antica,' or 'Via Cimina.'

711871 Roman site. A Roman cistern is now in use as an 'ornamental' pond, full of mud. It lies on the north side of a saddle leading to an isolated rise, on which stands a farmhouse. Its walls, of concrete, survive about 1 m. high and the original concrete bottom is probably still largely intact. Dimensions—3 m. × 8 m. approx. No pottery.

711879 Roman site. Widely scattered coarse ware, tiles and bricks, on the slopes of a prominent hill, from the summit of which all the topsoil has eroded away. The site once stood on the top of the hill; but it is impossible to estimate its size.

712775 Roman site. A pile of broken tiles and pottery, including sigillata, has been ploughed-out from a platform of level ground, on the east edge of a ridge, which is now covered with grass.

80 m. to the west, in the course of constructing a new road, a dolium was found, set in the ground at the end of a channel, which had an *opus signinum* floor and ran downhill from it. The channel was excavated for about 5 m. and was filled with a fine, sticky, grey-black silt, containing quantities of pottery (one fragment of black-glazed ware) and a heavy clay loom-weight. It would seem to have been a drain of some description. Nothing else came to light in the area.

712786 Roman site. A wide scatter of abraded tiles and pottery, on a broad ridge, coming from a site whose original size was difficult to estimate; black-glazed ware.

712801 *Cuniculus*. A rock-cut *cuniculus* is visible in the west side of a cutting for the road to the Roman villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo,' 20 m. up from the bottom of the cutting and 5 m. above the present road-level. It runs parallel with the cutting and survives for about 2.50 m.

712810 Roman site. On the end of a high spur, looking down on Sutri, is a level platform whose south side is retained by a concrete wall, originally about 24–26 m. long, of which about half survives; aggregate—local white stone. Probably the site of a villa. A large tufa block; tiles, including a few wasters, perhaps from the brick and tile kiln, 400 m. away (714814, *q.v.*); pottery—coarse, amphora, dolium, red polished ware.

713783 Small Roman site. A thin scatter of tiles and pottery, on a hillock at the end of a ridge; no fine wares.

713798 Roman site. Tiles and pottery, mostly abraded, covering a slight rise, north of the modern road to Bassano; red polished ware.

713802 Group of tombs and burial niches. These tombs and niches form part of the ancient cemetery of Sutri and are cut in the tufa, on the south side of the amphitheatre hill. There are eight simple, semi-circular niches, with a burial *loculus* in the floor of each; a group of three small, more or less square tombs, containing three semi-circular niches (with *loculi*) each; and a similar group of three tombs, containing three rectangular *loculi* each. Besides these tombs, there are many caves along this side of the hill and many more along the northern side and some, if not most, of them may originally have been tombs. None, however, now contain any visible proof of such an origin.

713812 Roman (?) site. A thin scatter of indeterminate coarse pottery and abraded tiles on a spur. The site may, or may not, be Roman.

713823 ROMAN POTTERY KILN. The site stands on a high ridge of clay, which lies on top of the tufa, north of Sutri, and which the Romans exploited both for this pottery kiln and for two brick-and-tile kilns lying within the map area (714814 and 704828, *q.v.*). What remains to-day is a profuse scatter of broken sherds, covering an area about 50 m. square, centred on a low rise and on a saddle to the north-west of it.

The pottery seems to have manufactured both coarse and fine quality wares (but there was no evidence to suggest that black-glazed, sigillata or red polished ware were ever made there) and it was one source at least, if not the only source, of a local grey ware which occurs on a few sites in the neighbourhood (e.g. 702818, 726815, 742802). This ware is generally dark grey; it has a hard, brittle fabric, with a gritty surface to touch, though the clay is fine; and is generally fired grey all through, although a few sherds have a deep red-brown fabric. Most of the shapes found of this ware were small bowls or dishes; there were one or two handles; and there were also one or two fragments of larger bowls or pots (fig. 10, p. 112). It was the only ware of which there were recognisable wasters to be seen; but the large quantity of sherds of other wares (containing a high percentage of rims and bases) make it more than probable that they too were manufactured at this spot. A group of sherds collected at random was composed as follows of the various wares:

Ninety-eight sherds of coarse wares, with fine clay fabric (mostly rims and bases).
Forty-five sherds of coarse wares, with gritty fabric (mostly rims and bases).
Fifty-four sherds of 'local grey ware' (including 19 wasters).
Nine sherds of sigillata.
One sherd of black-glazed ware.

713880 Roman site. A scatter of sherds, with a few tile fragments, on level ground on a ridge; red polished ware. Not a small site, but the true size difficult to assess.

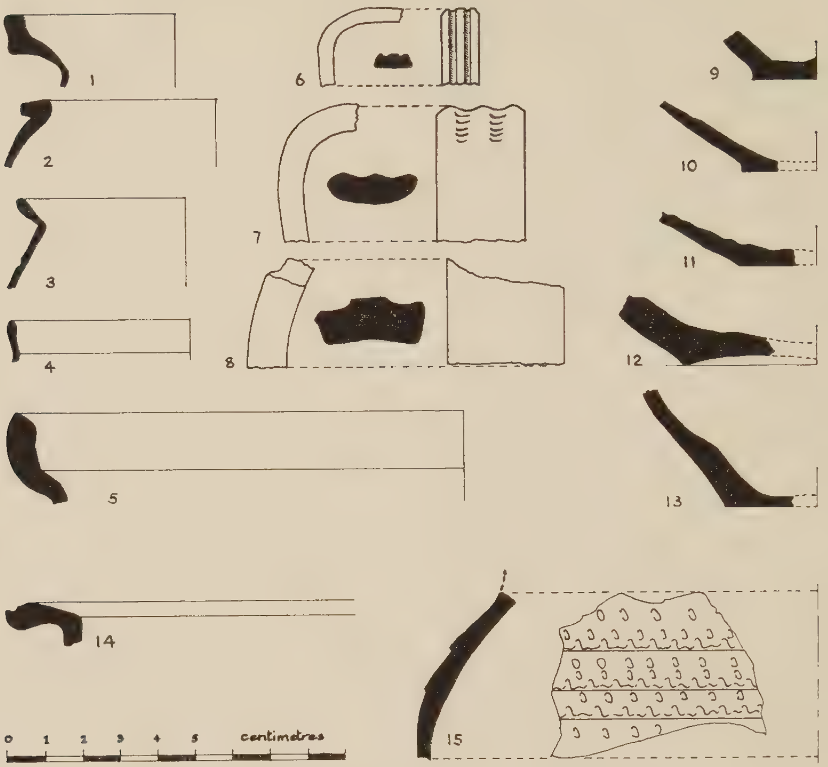

Fig. 10. 'Local Grey Ware' from Kiln at 713823

714781 Large (?) Roman site. Considerable numbers of broken tiles and coarse sherds cover the slopes below a nut-gove, which crowns the top of a ridge, drifting 200 m. downhill. The site must lie in the nut-grove itself and was probably fairly large.

714786 Roman site. Scattered coarse and black-glazed ware, and tile fragments, on the north edge of a ridge and down its northern slopes. Most of the topsoil has eroded off the ridge itself.

714788 Roman site. A handful of pottery and tile fragments lie on the level end of a spur, which would have formed an ideal site for a building; no fine wares. A rock-cut terrace, 9 m. wide, runs round the east end of the spur, perhaps the result of quarrying. The topsoil has all been washed off the spur, so the site may have been bigger than it seems to be at present.

714814 ROMAN BRICK-AND-TILE KILN. The site lies on a platform of level ground, on a hillside, 60 m. above a bend in a modern farm road, and on the side of a ridge of clay, out-cropping north of Sutri. On the summit of the same ridge there was also a Roman pottery kiln (713823), and another tile kiln nearby (704828).

Fifteen recognisable pan-tile wasters, one cover-tile waster, two brick wasters; many indeterminate blackened lumps of fired clay; considerable quantities of broken tiles; a definite group of blackened wasters over an area 8 m. square, 30 m. east of the main platform. Coarse ware, amphora, black-glazed ware. Perhaps connected with it was a small site 80–100 m. up the hill (715815, below). No brick-stamps were found.

715805 Small group of tombs. East of Sutri, at the bottom of the cutting for the roads to Nepi and Falerii Novi, on its north side, are the remains of a chamber tomb containing at least two *loculi* (now mostly collapsed), a semi-circular niche-tomb, cut in the open rock face, and a simple, rectangular *loculus*, also cut in the open. One or two more tombs may have been removed by later quarrying.

715815 Small Roman site. A handful of sherds and tiles, 80–100 m. north of the brick-and-tile kiln above (714814), on the hillside; either a burial or a small hut.

715878 Roman site. The corner of a concrete structure survives in the ground, on the summit of a low rise on a ridge; concrete aggregate—*selce* and tufa. Sherds and tiles, in considerable numbers, for 100 m. downhill to the east; sigillata and red polished ware.

716774 Roman site. Coarse ware and tiles, on level ground on the centre of a ridge; not a small site.

716800 THE ANCIENT CEMETERY OF SUTRI (pls. XIII, *b*; XVI, *a*, *b*). The main part of the ancient cemetery, Roman in date, consists of a dense group of rock-cut tombs, stretching for 140 m. along one side of the Via Cassia, at the point where the road first comes into sight of the town, south of the amphitheatre hill. Other tombs lie further west, along the Valle Mazzano (711802); some more are cut in the south side of the amphitheatre hill (713802), and there were very likely some on its north side too; there are two small groups west of the town itself (706806, 708806) and one to the east (715805), as well as a final group south of the modern cemetery (718798). Here, however, only the main area is described: the other tombs will be found under their separate references.

The tombs, about 56 in number, vary in size from single niches to chambers containing a dozen *loculi* or more, and most of them were for inhumation burials, though the group includes 10 *columbaria*. The majority of the *loculi* consist of recesses in the floor of semi-circular niches (semi-circular in elevation only) and there are only a few of the simpler, rectangular type of *loculus*. Besides a considerable number of individual niches (26), they sometimes form a small group in a wide, arched alcove, while this arched alcove can also in its turn serve as the entrance to a larger chamber behind. The *columbaria* combine square with semi-circular niches and there are a few instances of two urns being placed in the same niche, as well as examples of larger *loculi* for inhumation burials inside the *columbaria*.

Most of the tombs are devoid of any decoration, at least in their present state; but originally they would probably have been plastered and painted, the larger ones at any rate. Externally, they frequently had drip channels over them—deep grooves, cut to prevent moisture running into them from the rock face above—and many had funerary *tituli* let into the tufa above them, all of which have now disappeared. A few have simple gables, carved in low relief, to ornament their façades and there are two tombs, in particular, which deserve special mention. One of these, at the north end of the whole group, consists of a pair of niches, side by side, framed by two pilasters in relief, supporting a large and elaborate pediment above (another example of a similar tomb, framed by engaged columns, is unfortunately in a bad state of preservation). The second tomb is really a pair of almost identical, adjacent *columbaria*, whose intervening wall has been removed at some more recent date (pl. XVI, *b*). They were each designed symmetrically to contain 25–30 niches, including some for inhumation burials (3–5), and part of the original decoration of painted plaster survives towards their ceilings. Each had a recess for a *titulus* over its entrance, framed by a simple arch and gable, on either side of which are a patera and jug, carved in low relief.

Dennis records that in his day a citizen of Sutri had excavated in the ground above the cliff in which this cemetery is cut, finding tombs there too and bringing to light 'vases, bronzes, and other valuable relics of Etruscan date' (Dennis, vol. 1, p. 78).

716870 Roman cistern. A small, rectangular cistern, 2.75 m. × 3.25 m., with concrete floor and walls, 2 m. high, stands on a steep slope immediately above, and to the west of, a deeply sunken track. The cistern is already partly undermined, as the slope is eroding rapidly, and may fall before long. At present it serves as a hut and has had a straw roof added to it.

717797 Small Roman site. Tiles, pottery (coarse, sigillata, red polished ware), the handle of a clay lamp and the top of a glass bottle form a small group on the centre of a ridge; possibly a ploughed-out burial related to the Via Cassia, some 200 m. away.

717799 Small Roman site. A few coarse sherds and tile-fragments, in the corner of a walled estate on the ridge; possibly a ploughed-out burial (cf. 717797).

717872 Roman site. The overgrown and earth-filled remains of a rectangular concrete structure, 4 m. × 9 m., protruding from a field bank; aggregate—*selce* and tufa. A few coarse sherds. Possibly a cistern.

718780 Roman site. Tiles, *opus spicatum*, a small area of crude *selce* paving, or cobbling; glass, pottery (coarse, dolium, amphora, sigillata, red polished ware). The main area of the site, probably a farmhouse, lies on a level terrace on both sides of a modern farm road, and 20 m. south-east of it, in recent plough, were many fragments of *opus signinum* paving (some *in situ*) and of dolium, the remains perhaps of a similar feature to the 'channel,' or drain, excavated at another nearby site in the course of constructing a road (712775, *q.v.*).

718798 Group of tombs. South of the modern cemetery of Sutri, between the ancient and the modern lines of the Via Cassia, lies a group of tombs, cut in the end of a tufa spur. The tombs seem once to have consisted of a series of large caves, whose sides were lined with simple, rectangular *loculi*, in one, or two, tiers. Parts of 3–4 caves have survived (though much of the rock has collapsed) containing the remains of some 12 *loculi*.

718853 Roman site. A scatter of abraded coarse sherds and tiles, on the south slopes of a ridge; two probable fragments of red polished ware.

718861 Roman cistern. A vaulted, underground, concrete cistern, 2.80 m. wide × 10 m. long, on the back of a ridge; concrete aggregate—chiefly *selce* and a little tufa. A few tiles, one brick and a little coarse ware indicate that the site was also lived on. The vault of the cistern has been destroyed.

719776 Small Roman site. A few, very scattered tiles and coarse sherds, over a considerable area of a ridge; a small site, or burial, much dispersed.

720774 Roman site. Isolated sherds (one black-glazed) and tile fragments, widely scattered along a ridge; a small site.

720801 Tomb. A single, semi-circular niche, with a *loculus* in its floor, cut in the rock face on the north side of a valley. Later recutting of the tufa has perhaps destroyed another one at the same spot.

720825 Roman site. On a level platform, on the south side of a gentle rise, is the debris of a former building—bricks, tiles, *opus reticulatum* (in local white stone), *opus spicatum*; amphora, dolium; coarse pottery and black-glazed.

In 1916 a Republican silver denarius was found 'in contrada Romagnano,' which covers about a square kilometre in this area, including this site and three others—725821, 726828, 729823. The coin is now in the Villa Giulia Museum, in Rome (Inventory No. 27420). Date, approx. 137–134 B.C. (cf. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii, p. 227; Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, 1952, p. 49, no. 421).

720829 ROMAN BATH-HOUSE. The site lies on the south edge of a wide ridge, immediately above a stream, and occupies a platform, 20 m. × 30 m. approx., forming a distinct rise in the ground. Parts of it had been dug clandestinely, exposing various rooms and isolated walls.

The best preserved room visible contained the remains of a black and white mosaic, which once figured a marine scene with hippocamps and other sea creatures (pl. XXI, *d*). Parts of two hippocamps have survived and there is also said to have been the head of a young girl, which fell to pieces in an attempt to lift it. A small, apsed pool opened off one side of this room and an underground chamber with a shallow concrete vault lay to the north of it. At least two other rooms could be distinguished, in one of which there were traces of a secondary apse, and there was other evidence to show that the site had been through more than one building-phase. Most of the walls to be seen were faced with tufa *opus reticulatum*, but some were built of brick, some of concrete and some combined tufa *opus reticulatum* with a brick foundation. There were also several large tufa blocks lying about the site and a large tufa capital (diameter of the column shaft, 43 cm.) (pl. XXI, *c*). Considerable numbers of box flue-tiles had been excavated, besides fragments of painted wallplaster and many pieces of imported Aegean marble (comprising four to five different types); glass and window-glass; tiles; and profuse quantities of pottery, spreading a long way from the site and including amphora, dolium, sigillata (four sherds) and red polished ware (15 sherds).

Though no hypocaust was visible, the box-tiles, the small apsed pool and the marine subject of the mosaic make it probable that this was a bath-house, for which the water supply would presumably have come from the stream below it.

721784 *Cuniculus* (?). A hole in the hillside, now blocked, is said to lead down into a *cuniculus* below, running east-west. The source of this piece of information was not necessarily reliable.

721793 Two tombs. In the west face of the ancient (and modern) road cutting, at its bottom, are the remains of two adjacent rock-cut tombs, 4 m. above the present road-level. The more southerly, and better preserved, tomb consists of a square chamber containing two *loculi*, one on either side, preceded by a dromos, of which the modern road has removed the greater part. The back wall of the tomb has been destroyed by a secondary extension of it at some unknown date. North of this tomb is a second one, somewhat larger originally, but now mostly collapsed. Parts of two *loculi* survive, underneath one of which is a broad, flat moulding, exactly like similar mouldings in the same position in another tomb, 200 m. away to the east (723793), and in a third tomb, a kilometre to the east (732791).

721795 Group of burial niches. There are traces of four rectangular *loculi*, cut, side by side, in the tufa, at the end of a low spur, between the modern Via Cassia and the road to Bassano. Two of them lie one above the other. There has been much quarrying at the end of the spur and it is consequently difficult to know whether these loculi were originally cut in the open air, as they are now, or whether they were at first underground, cut in the sides of a long tomb, which has since been removed.

721810 Roman site. Coarse pottery and tiles, scattered on either side of the present-day cart-track, but probably lying north of the ancient track which connected Sutri and Falerii Novi, indicate a site, which is unusual in being situated in low ground, without even a rise for any building to stand on.

721881 Roman site. The walls of a rectangular concrete structure, 4 m. × 9 m. approx., are exposed in a vineyard and in the side of a track, which runs past its north end; *selce* and tufa aggregate. The vineyard yielded one coarse sherd.

722772 Roman site. A profuse scatter of tiles, together with *opus spicatum*, indicate a building, on the west side of a ridge, and pottery from the site includes black-glazed and sigillata, besides amphora and dolium. Fragments of glass.

722780 Roman site. Walls of Roman concrete, in a patch of scrub and brambles, seem to form part of a rectangular structure, 4 m. × 9 m. approx., built in flat ground on the edge of a slight terrace. A few tiles are piled beside it, but no sherds.

722786 LARGE ROMAN SITE, AT 'CASALE CASTELLACCIO.' The present farmhouse that bears the name stands on an isolated hill with sheer tufa sides, 90 m. long × 40 m. wide, to the east of which is another smaller hill, about 55 m. in diameter. The Roman site occupied the top of the larger hill, and very probably of the smaller hill too, and spread down on to the saddle between the two, as well as down on to the low ground lying to south and west of the former. A paved road led to it from the Via Cassia and ran past the west end of the larger hill (see p. 89).

No remains are visible on the top of either hill, but a wall of large tufa blocks retains the north side of the larger one. This wall is 40 m. long and is built of regular courses of blocks, all laid as 'headers.' Seven courses survive, each one 50 cm. high (pl. XI, *b*). The type of construction implies an early date, and the wall may originally have been defensive in character, belonging to a small, late pre-Roman site; but no other evidence of pre-Roman occupation is at present forthcoming. A *cuniculus* runs through the hill, dividing into two branches towards its west end.

South of the hill and on the saddle at its east end, there have been ploughed up from time to time further large tufa blocks, remains of concrete structures and portions of marble columns, veneering slabs and part of a marble pilaster, besides quantities of tiles. [The fragments of marble are mostly in the possession of the present owner of the farm, in Rome.] But the visible remains are primarily at the west end of the hill, where the modern track has cut down through the Roman levels, exposing walls of concrete and of tufa blocks, including some which may have belonged to a concrete cistern lined with *opus signinum*, a pavement of *opus signinum* with bits of marble and tesserae let into it (pl. XXI, *b*), fragments of burnt wall-plaster (red, yellow and dark green), and a section of the paving of the adjacent Roman road, which clearly passed immediately alongside this particular group of buildings. Nearby were found tesserae of blue and green glass and a fragment of red polished ware, though sherds in general are scarce.

In the volume of the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1882, p. 111, there is a report of the finding of various fragments of marble at this site, including 'a bacchic head' in low relief, 'belonging to a frieze of some large building,' as well as portions of two inscriptions, one of which is on a cippus, now in Sutri antiquarium (*CIL*, xi, 3264, 3269).

722818 Large Roman site. On top of a hill is a long, vaulted, concrete cistern, partly underground, 3 m. wide × 29–30 m. long (24 m. to a post-Roman blocking wall); above it are the ruins of a much more recent farmhouse (pl. XV, *b*). The roof of the cistern is intact for about half its length. There is no trace of *opus signinum* lining on the walls, but a fragment was found nearby.

60 m. south-west, on the edge of the hill, are the remains of another concrete building, perhaps a second cistern, and 60 m. south, on the slopes of the hill, are further walls of concrete (with local white stone aggregate), of tufa *opus reticulatum* and of small tufa blocks in regular courses. Two of these walls form the sides of a *cuniculus*, having a concrete roof, running into the hillside at this point.

Nearby were many fragments of box flue-tiles, tesserae (white stone and *selce*), veneering slabs of white marble and painted wall-plaster. Large tufa blocks lie beside the cistern above, and scattered around are considerable numbers of tiles and bricks, including one curved brick which formed part of a column. Pottery included sigillata and red polished ware.

722837 Roman site. A thin scatter of tiles and pottery (one sherd of sigillata) on the north side of a wide ridge.

723777 Small Roman site. Tiles, coarse ware, black-glazed and red polished ware cover the slopes of a knoll on the ridge, from which all the topsoil has eroded off.

723783 Small Roman site. A small group of tile-fragments, together with a little coarse pottery.

723793 Tomb. On the east side of an ancient road-cutting, 3 m. above the present level of the road, is a tomb, containing three *loculi*, roughly carved out of the tufa. The two *loculi* at the sides have shallow head-rests and are outlined by simple mouldings. The most important *loculus*, in the rear wall, has head-rests at both ends and is framed by a wide, flat moulding, which also recurs on the vertical rock-face below it. The same type of moulding occurs again in another tomb 200 m. to the west, also under a *loculus* (721793, *q.v.*), and in a third tomb, a kilometre approx. to the east (732791).

723873 Roman site. A concrete wall, 5 m. long, protrudes from a vineyard bank and tiles and pottery lie in the ground around; dolium and red polished ware.

724796 Tomb (?). Cut in the south side of a valley is a large, rectangular chamber, 5.50 m. wide × 6–6.50 m. long, containing a central pillar, 65 cm. wide × 85 cm. long. The pillar, like the chamber itself, is entirely cut out of the tufa and stands 2.30 m. high; it has a squared abacus at its top (pl. XIV, *c*). The roof slopes slightly down from it towards the sides, which are only 2 m. high. A smaller, apparently secondary, chamber opens off the back of the first (2.50 m. square). Most of the front of the main chamber has now collapsed. The pillar and the sloping roof would not be out of place in a tomb; but there is no other indication that this was the original purpose of the chamber. If there were ever benches round the walls, they have been removed cleanly and evenly, leaving no trace. There is a graffito date—1645—on the right wall and several graffito crosses on the front face of the central pillar. The chamber is known locally as the 'Grotta d' Orlando.'

725779 Roman site. Abraded coarse sherds and tile fragments lie south-east of a low ridge, on the slopes below it. The site probably stood on a wide, level platform running along the side of the ridge.

725784 Roman site. A widespread scatter of broken tiles, coarse sherds and chips of *selce*, probably coming from destroyed concrete—the remains of a building.

725821 Roman site. Coarse pottery and tiles, on a spur on the south side of a ridge, a site from which there is a considerable drift of stray tiles and sherds 500–600 m. north-west, to the Roman site at 720825.

726791 Roman (?) site. A wide scatter of indeterminate pottery and tile fragments, on gentle slopes leading down from a rise to the west. The pottery is not certainly Roman.

726815 Roman site. Coarse ware and tiles, centred on a platform, 20 m. square, and spreading along a terrace to the east; red polished ware and a sherd of local grey ware, from the Roman pottery kiln at 713823 (*q.v.*).

726828 Roman site. The remains of a rectangular concrete structure, 7 m. wide × 15.50 m. long (to the point where it disappears underground). There are two projections on its south and east sides and a block of stone has been built onto its south wall, with a water channel through it (original?). Concrete aggregate—*selce* and a little brick. Perhaps a cistern. Beside it are broken tiles, brick, marble (white), glass and pottery (black-glazed and sigillata). There was a house on the spot too, therefore.

727773 Small Roman site. Abraded coarse sherds and a few tile-fragments over a small area, beside a stream.

727780 Roman site. A scatter of pottery (containing no fine wares) and numbers of tiles, in flat ground on either side of the new road under construction to Trevignano. The debris, much dispersed, of quite a large site.

727845 Roman site. Widely scattered remains of a building—*opus reticulatum*, *opus spicatum*, bricks, tiles, *selce* tesserae and pottery, including amphora and sigillata.

727874 Roman site. A few tiles and coarse sherds lie on the south slopes of a ridge, among trees and grass, which make it impossible to decide where precisely they came from or how big a site they represent.

728768 Roman site. A thin scatter of pottery and tile-fragments, on the north-east slopes of a prominent spur, called 'Poggio Francesco.' They have probably drifted from the crest of the hill, below which they lie.

728798 Small Roman site. A handful of coarse sherds, one of sigillata and one fragment of a brick, on a narrow spur, may represent a small tomb or mausoleum. 100 m. further east are two rock-cut *loculi* (729798, *q.v.*).

728861 Roman cistern. A vaulted, underground, concrete cistern lies south of, and partly under, a modern *casale*. It measures 2.50 m. wide × 9 m. long, to a recent blocking wall, and is said to extend a further 5 m. beyond that. It has a concrete floor, with a flat moulding between it and the walls. Concrete aggregate—*selce*.

A large slab of Roman concrete lies over a modern well, 50 m. south of the cistern, with a few tiles and sherds around it (one of sigillata) and 100 m. south-east is another vaulted, concrete building and a *cuniculus*, cut through the end of the spur on which this group of buildings lies (729860, below).

729764 Small Roman site and tomb. A small group of tiles and pottery (dolium; black-glazed ware) on a low spur, or ridge, together with one squared block of hard tufa; perhaps a small mausoleum.

A roughly-cut tomb, in soft tufa, 40 m. east of the site above, on the slopes of the same ridge; three *loculi*, with head-rests, and a large stone blocking the doorway. From it came a few fragments of a white-ware jug.

729787 Roman site. A few tiles and sherds (coarse and black-glazed ware), scattered along the west slopes of a gully; perhaps a ploughed-up tomb, or tombs.

729798 Two tombs. Two crude, rectangular *loculi*, each with a recess for a body in its floor, cut side by side, in the east face of a dell running north-south. 100 m. west is a small Roman site, with which they may be connected (728798, *q.v.*).

729804 *Cuniculus*. A *cuniculus* runs north into the hillside from the back of a cave, 10 m. long, called 'La Grotta di Malpasso.' The purpose of the *cuniculus* may have been connected with the presence of a spring in the cave.

729823 Small Roman site. A small scatter of coarse pottery and tiles, just north of the crest of the ridge.

729834 Roman site. A group of scattered coarse sherds and broken tiles, on the back of a broad ridge, probably responsible also for isolated sherds and tiles in ploughland 100 m. north.

729860 Roman site and *cuniculus*. A vaulted, concrete building, 3 m. × 9 m. approx., mostly underground, on the south side of a spur, probably connected, as one site, with a concrete cistern, 100 m. north-west (728861, above). This building may also have been a cistern, but there was no certain proof of it.

Nearby is a *cuniculus*, cut through the end of the same spur and intersected by a modern cave. One branch of it, west of the cave, is approximately 30 m. long; the other, east of the cave, is blocked.

730793 Roman site. Fifteen to twenty large tufa blocks, ploughed-out from a terrace on the west side of a dell running down from the Via Cassia, attest the presence of a building. More blocks are said to have come from a 'wall,' 30 m. below the terrace to the east. Scattered over the area were broken tiles and a few bricks, coarse pottery, sigillata and red polished ware.

In a vineyard above, the owner has found much metal slag. Some lumps of it are still to be seen and one or two tiles, but no sherds to indicate a date.

730871 Roman site. A short length of a wall of Roman concrete protrudes from the ground in a vineyard; *selce* aggregate. No sherds or tiles could be found.

731771 Roman site or tomb. A small group of tile-fragments and coarse sherds, perhaps from a burial associated with the building 100 m. north-east (732772, below).

732763 Roman site. Ploughed-out bricks and tiles, *opus reticulatum* blocks in tufa, fragments of *opus signinum* and a square block of hard tufa, from a modest site at the end of a spur. Pottery included sigillata and red polished ware, dolium and other coarse ware. 40 m. south, up the same spur, was a smaller scatter of coarse sherds and tiles.

732772 Roman site. Overturned slab of Roman concrete on top of a slight hillock: concrete aggregate—tufa and *selce*. Considerable quantities of tiles and pottery down the slopes to north and east; coarse ware, amphora, red polished ware. Perhaps a farmhouse, with associated burial 100 m. south-west of it (732771, above).

732789 Three tombs. Three rock-cut tombs are said to have been found in the course of tractor ploughing, on the north or east side of a low hill, called 'Pratiola'; they were rectangular, with an entrance at one end, and contained four to nine *loculi* each, so it is said. The *loculi* were closed by terra-cotta slabs held in place by clay. Two men's rings were found and a woman's bracelet of intertwined snakes, all of bronze. They were surrendered to the Superintendency of Antiquities.

732791 Tomb (fig. 4, p. 75). A rock-cut tomb, containing a total of five *loculi*, three in the tomb itself (a rectangular chamber) and two in the sides of the dromos leading to it. Four of them are simple, rectangular *loculi*, cut horizontally into the tufa: the fifth is more elaborate, consisting of a podium, or 'bed,' on which the body was laid, standing free from the side walls of the tomb. At the head and foot of it an ornamental, triangular gable projects above the 'bed.' The tomb is crudely cut, in the south-west face of a ridge, not far above stream level, near the junction of the road to Nepi with the Via Cassia. Some of it has now collapsed and some of it has been quarried away. The ornamental 'bed,' with gables at either end, is paralleled in another tomb about 3 km. away, north of the road to Bassano (702800), and a flat moulding, which outlines the front face of it, recurs in two tombs near the junction of the road to Bassano with the Via Cassia (721793, 723793).

732804 Tomb. The remains of a simple, rock-cut tomb with one *loculus* in the rear wall, a cruder version of a similar tomb 800 m. away (739799, *q.v.*). The roof has collapsed.

732823 Small Roman site. A few coarse sherds and abraded tile-fragments, covering a small area on the crest of a ridge.

732855 Roman cistern. A rectangular, vaulted, concrete cistern, 3 m. × 18 m. approx., lying mostly underground. The inside is lined with cement (made with an aggregate chips of stone, instead of the more usual brick chips), with flat mouldings across the angles, and an inlet pipe enters at roof-level on the north side. Concrete aggregate—*selce* and local white stone.

25 m. south-east is a small, grass-covered platform, with more concrete in it, and the cistern itself may well have been built on. In the area were tufa *opus reticulatum* blocks, *opus spicatum* bricks, quantities of tiles and pottery (coarse ware, amphora, dolium; sigillata).

80 m. east were the remains of another concrete building, probably connected with the same site (733855).

732875 Roman site. Isolated coarse sherds and one of sigillata, scattered over a considerable area of vineyards. Once a site, now nearly completely destroyed.

733798 Roman site. Debris of a modest building on the south side of a narrow spur, including *opus spicatum* and *opus signinum*; tiles, glass and pottery (coarse ware, sigillata and red polished ware).

50 m. east are three rock-cut burial niches, perhaps related to the site (734798, below).

733808 Roman mausoleum (?). Grouped in a small area on the brow of the ridge are many tile-fragments, a large tufa block, two pieces of decayed white Italian marble and a handful of coarse sherds. The coarse ware is indeterminate, but the marble and the large tufa block suggest a Roman site, presumably a mausoleum.

733848 Roman site. Remains of very poor concrete, ploughed up on the south side of a minor spur, together with *opus spicatum*, tiles, glass, red polished ware and coarse ware, evidence of a small building.

733855 Roman site. A concrete wall was just visible above ground 80 m. east of the Roman cistern at 732855 (above) and probably belongs to the same group of buildings. Aggregate—chiefly *selce*, with tufa and local white stone. Coarse ware and tiles.

734777 Roman site. Tiles, bits of *opus signinum* and coarse sherds, ploughed out in fairly flat ground. Probably not a large site.

734789 Small (?) Roman site. The corner of a pavement of *opus signinum* projects from the grass at the end of a minor spur, but the full size of the building to which it belonged is impossible to assess. A few tiles and coarse sherds.

734798 Three burial niches. A group of three semi-circular burial niches, cut side by side in the tufa along the rock face of an artificial terrace, on the south side of a narrow spur. Each contains one *loculus* in its floor.

50 m. west is a Roman site, with which they may be connected (733798, above).

735768 Roman site. On an isolated knoll is a rectangular platform, 4 m. × 9 m. approx., partly excavated by curious locals. They have exposed walls of concrete, with *selce* and with brick and tile aggregate, a wall of tufa *opus reticulatum* with a brick quoin, or door jamb, and an *opus signinum* floor laid on *selce* concrete. The original site probably covered all, or most, of the knoll; brick and tile are scattered all round it, besides coarse and red polished ware and a few tesserae (of *selce* and blue glass).

735785 Roman site. A scatter of tiles and pottery, including one black-glazed sherd, covers a slight rise on the west edge of a broad ridge; one rim fragment of a glass bowl.

735806 Tomb or cave. A small, nearly square, chamber, with low benches against the side walls, and preceded by a long dromos, lies 100 m. north of the ancient ridge-track between Sutri and Nepi, on the south side of a spur which presents a rock face about 100 m. long parallel with, and facing, the track, ideal for a group of tombs. Most of the face is now covered with earth. The benches inside seem too low and too narrow for it to have served as a tomb, but they may have been recut.

736801 Roman site. Scattered and isolated coarse sherds and tiles over a small area of ploughland, perhaps a ploughed-out grave.

736818 Roman site. Scattered coarse ware and tiles covering a high point on the ridge, the remains of a building.

737789 Roman pottery dump or burial. From a hole in the ground about 2 m. square, but of unknown depth, on the south side of a low, very narrow spur, has come a large quantity of black-glazed ware and coarse pottery. When first found there are said, probably reliably, to have been 100–150 bases of vases (unspecified). The many fragments of black-glazed ware recovered are, almost without exception, badly fired, producing an uneven colouring, partly black and partly red, suggesting a late date for the deposit, when the transition to terra sigillata had already begun. The precise purpose of the deposit remains obscure.

737798 Roman site. Isolated, abraded coarse ware and tiles on the north side of a spur and partly down its northern slopes. The ground above has been ploughed down to the tufa rock, but a site once existed on the spot.

737803 Roman site. A fine scatter of coarse ware and tile-chips covers a slight rise, on the south side of the ridge along which ran the ancient track connecting Sutri and Nepi. Also black-glazed and red polished ware and glass.

737808 Roman site. Ploughed concrete walls, whose approximate position is still visible, belonging to a rectangular structure, 8 m. × 9 m.; aggregate—local white stone. Coarse ware and tiles.

738788 *Cuniculus* (?). A so-called *cuniculus*, 90–100 cm. wide, lies under a modern track, east of a stream, and is said to continue on the other bank, running along the north side of a spur opposite; this continuation was invisible, however, under brambles. It seems too wide to be ancient and may represent a more recent attempt at irrigation, or at systematising the stream to supply water for a former smithy, which stood 400 m. downstream (741785). The smithy is now in ruins, but was still working within the memory of an old farm labourer. It has given its name to the local hill, 'La Ferriera.'

738801 Roman sherds, perhaps from a burial. A few coarse sherds and tile-fragments, coming from a pit, or grave, in the tufa, cut by a modern track.

738814 Roman site. Thick scatter of broken tiles and pottery, including amphora, black-glazed and sigillata, on the south-east slopes of a hill. Also glass and a fragment of bronze.

739759 Two small Roman sites. A small group of tiles, glass and pottery (including sigillata and red polished ware), on a saddle at the head of a stream gully, and a second similar group, containing only coarse ware and tiles, 20 m. west of the first, may represent a pair of tombs or mausolea.

739788 Etruscan cremation burial. A single cremation burial, probably Etruscan in date, was found, in a recently ploughed field, on the crest of a narrow, low spur, at the north end of the hill called 'La Ferriera.' The burial consisted of one large ossuary of a coarse, burnished ware, containing the remains of a few burnt bones, a burnished black dish, or bowl, with sharply carinated sides, another vase of a similar fabric and a jug with one handle (which was said to have been found in the same group, but which had already been removed elsewhere). Only fragments of the first three vases were to be found *in situ* (fig. 11). There had also been a corroded bronze pin in the ossuary. There was no *bucchero* in the group. Miss Brenda Mason, Research Student of Girton College, Cambridge, saw the fragments of the vases recovered and suggested an early date for the burial, perhaps the eighth century B.C.

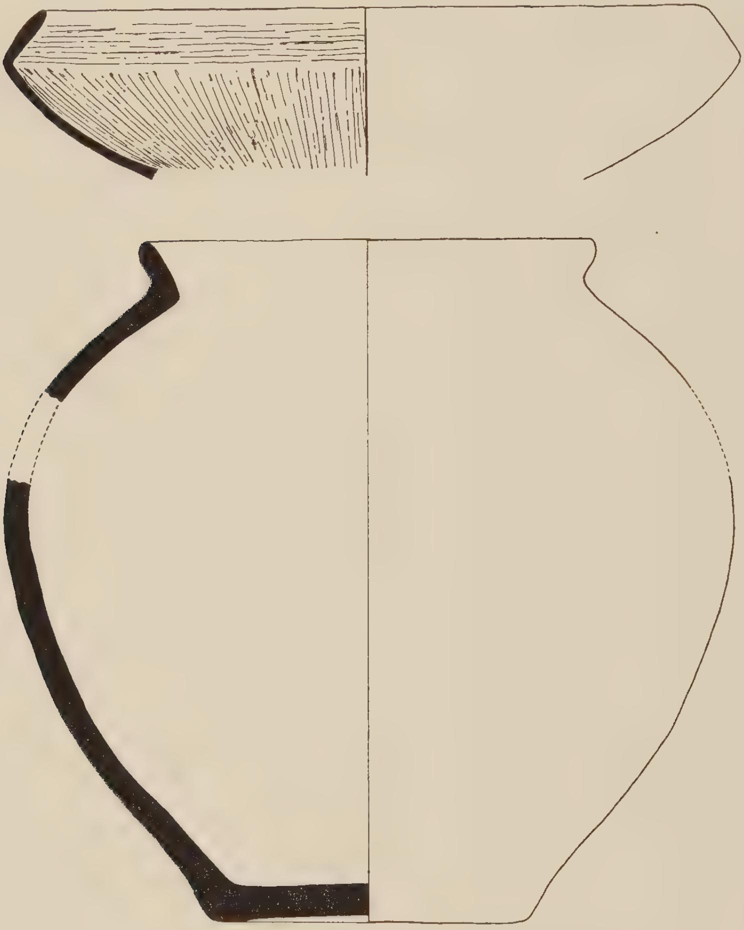

Fig. 11. Ossuary and Another Vessel from Early Etruscan Cremation Burial at 739788 ($\frac{1}{3}$)

739790 Roman site. A scatter of tiles and pottery (including red polished ware), centred on a gentle rise. It is difficult to assess the area of the original site to which they belonged, but it may not have been very large.

739799 Tomb. A rectangular chamber, cut in the tufa, with one *loculus* high in its rear wall and a long dromos preceding it. The *loculus* was once closed by tiles across its front (or a slab of stone or marble) and two crude graffito crosses are scratched on its back wall; but they are may not have been very large.

739801 Roman site. A handful of sherds, including black-glazed ware, and one or two tiles, in a relatively small area on the north side of a ridge. A tomb (?).

740765 Roman site. Two pieces of Roman concrete project from the crest of a scarp on the west side of the ridge; aggregate—*selce* and tufa. Tile, a little coarse pottery and one sherd of black-glazed ware above. Perhaps a small mausoleum connected with the farmhouse 60 m. to the north (740766, below).

740766 Roman site, ploughed once, or perhaps twice. Debris over an area 30 × 15 m., containing tiles, window-glass and small, medium and large *selce* tesserae, besides quantities of pottery—coarse (dolium, amphora), sigillata and red polished ware—two fragments of clay lamps, part of a glass 'tear,' or ointment, bottle and other glass. A few lumps of metal slag and two indeterminate, corroded bits of iron. A farmhouse, with attached mausoleum (740765, above)?

740775 Large Roman site. Tiles and pottery—coarse, dolium, black-glazed, sigillata and red polished ware—lying in rough grass on a hill (spot height, 267 m.) and down its east slopes.

741763 Monument (?). Four large tufa blocks and a squared length of concrete as if from a pillar (containing fairly large *selce*, tufa and brick aggregate) lying on a small, grass-grown knoll. A few abraded tile-fragments, but no visible sherds. The remains of some form of monument (?); date uncertain, but perhaps ancient because of the size of the tufa blocks.

741778 Roman site. Tiles, amphora, dolium, coarse ware; black-glazed, sigillata and red polished ware; on a small, but prominent hill, called 'Poggio Togneca.' There is said to be a *cuniculus*, some 40 m. long, running into the hill on its north side, but it was not located.

742792 Roman sites (?). Scattered and abraded coarse sherds and tiles over a considerable area in the flat ground between the modern Via Cassia and the road to Nepi. Tile-fragments also on two slight knolls, 50 m. north of the Nepi road at this point. Where precisely the original site, or sites, stood was impossible to locate.

742802 Roman site. Broken tiles; dolium, mortarium and other coarse pottery; black-glazed, sigillata and red polished ware and one sherd of a local grey ware, manufactured in the Roman pottery about 3 km. away to the north-west (713823, *q.v.*); part of the rim of a purple glass bowl. Just south of this site passed the ancient ridge-track connecting Sutri and Nepi.

742811 Small site. A scatter of coarse ware and tiles, on a hilltop, together with a fragment of a fine glass bowl. The pottery, however, may have been non-Roman.

V. THE AREA IN POST-ROMAN TIMES (figs. 12, 13, pp. 122, 124)

(*i*) *Sutri*

History.[85] The history of the town has continued unbroken up to the present day. It reached its peak in the early Middle Ages, though declining rapidly thereafter, and its importance has always remained dependent on its strategic position on the Via Cassia.[86]

It was already a bishopric by the mid-fifth century and from the late sixth to the eighth century acted as the outpost of Rome and the Church against the Lombard kingdom to the north. It fell into their hands on occasion, however, for we know that they occupied it at the end of the sixth century and in 728 it was captured again, by king Liutprand, who shortly afterwards ceded it to the Pope. Evidence of their occupation remains in an inscription in the crypt of the cathedral and in various graves which have been found from time to time on the ridge west of the town.[87]

During the next 500 years, up to the mid-fourteenth century, the prosperity of the town reached its highest peak. The Via Cassia was an important route between Rome and the north; large numbers of pilgrims stopped in the town on their way

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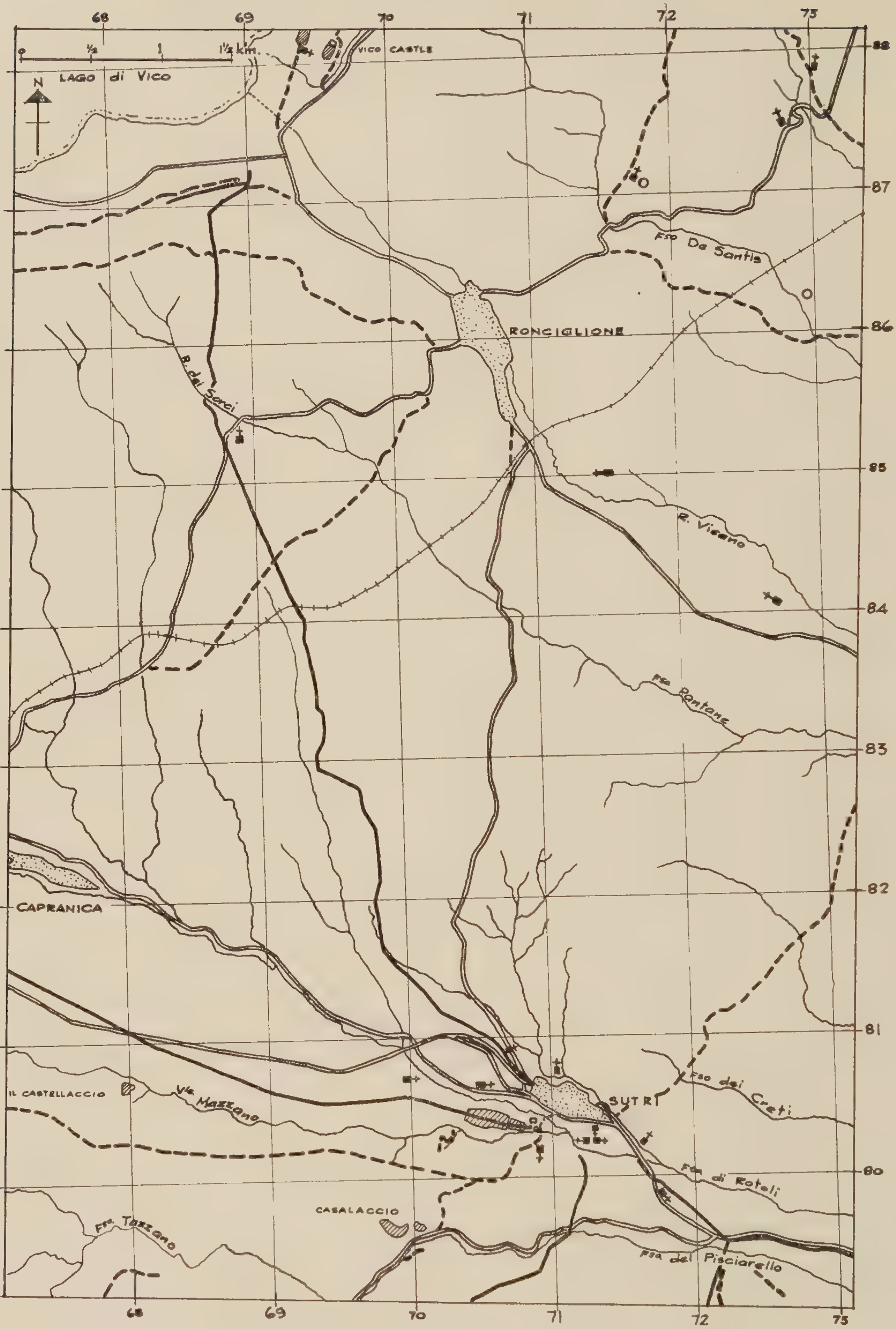
[85] The best and most reliable account of Sutri in the Middle Ages is that of Tomassetti, from whom most of the following account is taken (Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, Rome, 1913, vol. iii). The comprehensive work of Nispi-Landi contains more detail, but is less critical (Nispi-Landi, *Storia dell' Antichissima Citta di Sutri*, Rome, 1887. The sections dealing with the periods before the Middle Ages are of little or no value).

[86] This was equally true in Roman times.

[87] v. Tomassetti (*op. cit.*) and *Not. Scav.*, 1878, p. 159 (where a coin of A.D. 578–582 was among the finds); 1882, p. 265; 1920, p. 121.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VICO CASTLE
RONCIGLIONE
R. dei Sorci
Fso De Santis
R. Vicano
Fso Pontane
CAPRANICA
IL CASTELLACCIO
Vle Mazzano
SUTRI
Fso dei Creti
Fso di Rotoli
CASALACCIO
Fso Tazzano
Fsa del Pisciarello

FIG. 12. MEDIEVAL ROADS AND SITES IN THE COUNTRY TO THE NORTH OF SUTRI (cf. Fig. 13)
(Scale 1 : 50,000)

to and fro; and Sutri, being one of the possessions of the Popes, played a considerable role in the history of the Church. Its name occurs several times, for example, in the struggle with the German Emperors and, on a lesser scale, it figured in the contest between the Church and the Prefects of Vico, who, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, centred on their Castle at Lago di Vico, held a fluctuating dominion over the surrounding territory; they were generally in revolt against Rome.

By the fourteenth century Tomassetti calculates that there were 5,000 inhabitants. But from then on a decline set in. In 1435 the bishopric was united with that of Nepi. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the town suffered from the struggle between the Borgias and the Orsini, being a seat of the former family. In 1527 it was presumably sacked, together with Ronciglione and Vetralla, by the Bourbon troops. And the coup-de-grace came soon afterwards, when the Farnese 'transferred' the Via Cassia to the road running through Ronciglione to Viterbo.[88] By 1656 the population had shrunk to about 1300.[89] The numbers of the inhabitants have increased since, but the town has never regained its former importance.

The Extent of the Town. In its prime the town occupied not only the ridge on which it now lies and where the Roman town before it had been, but spread on to the isolated hill to the south (the 'amphitheatre' hill) and on to the end of another ridge to the south-west, the ridge along which ran the Roman Via Cassia. It also occupied the valley in between these three hills.

For the remains in the town itself, see Tomassetti (pp. 193 ff.; cf. also Nispi-Landi, ii, pp. 294–296). There are the ruins of a large fifteenth-century building on the amphitheatre hill and a few buildings still stand in the valley, beside the modern Via Cassia. But the hill to the south-west deserves a fuller comment.

The end of this ridge is isolated from the rest by a rock-cut ditch and a second, larger ditch lies 350 m. west of the first, likewise running from one side of the ridge to the other (fig. 3, p. 67). On the east lip of this latter ditch are the ruins of some tufa walling, built of regularly-coursed blocks laid in cement. A road (the ancient Via Cassia) is clearly visible, running along the centre of the ridge and crossing the two ditches by means of bridges, which have now disappeared.[90] On either side of the road are extensive signs of foundations for houses, cut in the tufa, and there are traces of a side road, parallel to the Cassia, to serve them. At the foot of the ridge, at its east end, are the remains of a fine tower, with an ornamental, gothic-arched doorway, the tower of S. Paolo. A small, present-day *casale* is the only building on the top of the ridge.

Such are the existing remains, representing a fair-sized community, with a fortified strongpoint at its east end. The most reasonable explanation of it is that it is the medieval *burgus*, or ward, of S. Stefano, which had a castle attached to it, and a church of the same name, and stood outside the town.[91] This ward was

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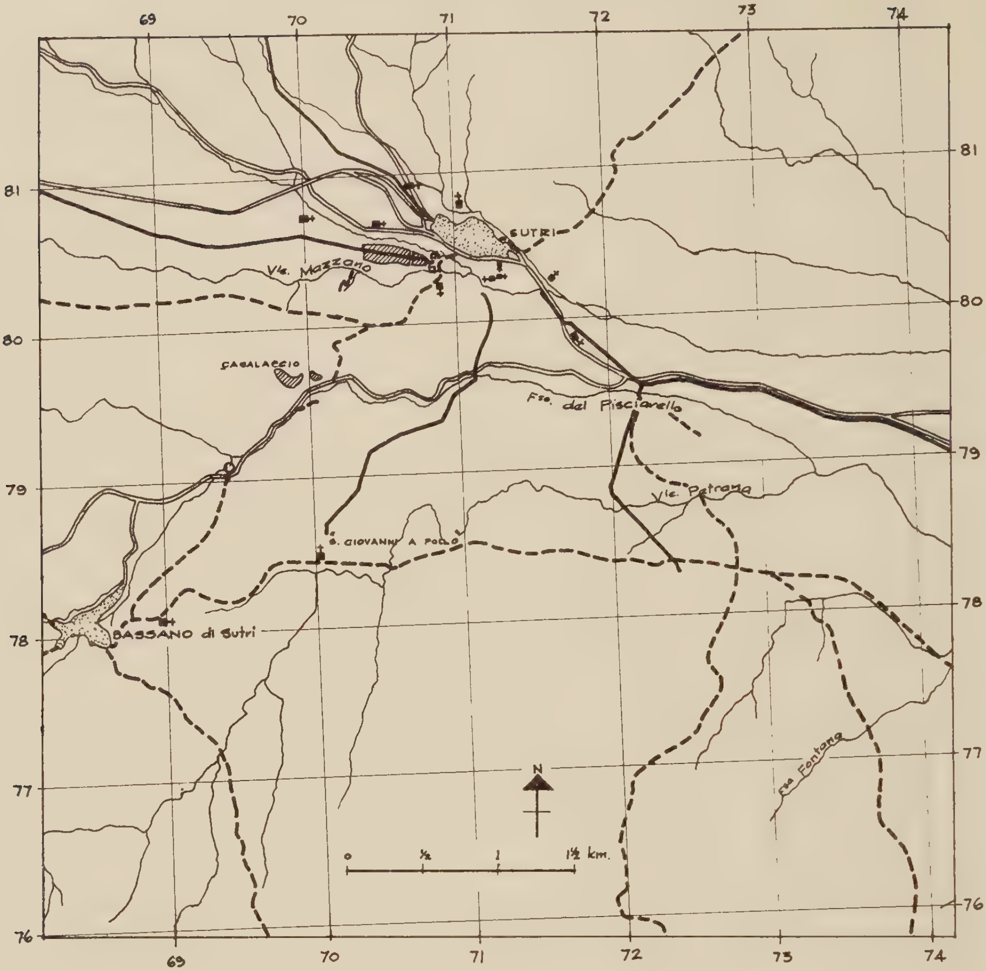
[88] The road still ran that way in Dennis's day and it was not until the beginning of the present century that it returned to its original route past Sutri.

[89] *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 33, p. 31, *s.v.* Sutri.

[90] The east one has been replaced by an earthen causeway, see p. 83.

[91] There were two gates to it, 'Porta maior' and 'Porta puscerula,' and, though we have no proof of the identification, this ridge is the most likely spot on which to locate it. For the information concerning S. Stefano and its ward, I am indebted to a monograph by the late Mgr. Giacomo Gentili of Sutri, a friend and pupil of Tomassetti, entitled 'Memorie del Borgo di Sutri' (August, 1933).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77
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SUTRI
Vle. Mazzano
CASALACCIO
Fso. del Pisciarello
Vle. Petrana
S. GIOVANNI A POLLO
BASSANO di Sutri
Fso. Fontana
N
0
½
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1½ km.

FIG. 13. MEDIEVAL ROADS AND SITES IN THE COUNTRY TO THE SOUTH OF SUTRI (cf. Fig. 12) (Scale 1 : 50,000)

inhabited up to the end of the fourteenth century,[92] but then disappears from history, though the church survived until 1605, disappearing, however, in its turn too. The ward came to an end at the period when Sutri was in decline.

It is more difficult, on the other hand, to determine when it was first occupied. Its houses clearly recognise the existence of the Via Cassia and therefore post-date the construction of that road, though going back to a time when it was still in use. But there is no evidence to suggest that they are actually Roman in origin.[93] On the other hand, the ditches are post-Roman in character and the walling extant along the west one certainly is. We know that the church, castle and ward all existed in the eleventh century,[94] but we have no earlier record of it. Liutprand, the Lombard king, ceded a *castellum* to the Pope in 728. This was, in fact, all he donated —not the entire town—and the Papacy only gained control of the latter in later years. There is no evidence to show which *castellum* is meant : one is left to speculate whether it was the same castle as that of S. Stefano.[95]

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[92] An inventory of 1382 mentions houses, walls, gates, church and castle.

[93] The few sherds found on the ridge were of medieval date.

(*ii*) *The Countryside and the New Medieval Towns*

The Countryside. Sometime after the end of the Roman period, the countryside became deserted once more. One or two estates may have survived, such as that at 'S. Giovanni a pollo,' but the majority of the farms and villas were abandoned and fell into ruin. There was no sign of post-Roman occupation on any of them. The Ciminian forest regained much of the ground that it had lost and woods probably covered once more the upper slopes of the Monti Sabatini, including Monte Calvi. The Via Cassia remained in use, as did the ridgeway track to Nepi, but most of the other Roman roads were forgotten and disappeared. The reason for this desertion of the countryside is that people no longer felt safe there, preferring instead to live together in small communities for mutual protection, and it was in this way that the first nuclei of the new medieval towns sprang up, towns like Ronciglione, Capranica and Bassano di Sutri. The fact that these towns were founded in what had previously been countryside indicates that the Roman achievement in opening up the forest and woodland was not entirely wasted. Ronciglione, in particular, is one of a series of medieval settlements which appear on the slopes of the Monti Cimini, not admittedly on the highest summits, which were left to the Ciminian forest, but higher than the Roman towns had been.[96]

A fresh road-system also emerged, consisting of a series of new cross-country tracks connecting these incipient towns. The tracks gradually stabilised themselves by use, and the modern road-system, which has developed from them, reflects accurately the general pattern. The maps show all the tracks in the area which have been in use for a considerable time (figs. 12, 13, pp. 122, 124). No attempt has been made to distinguish the date of any of them. For, since the conditions of transport remained the same throughout the Middle Ages, and right up to the late nineteenth century, there is no means of telling one track from another on the basis of their appearance, while it is probable that many, if not most of them, continued to be used equally, until the advent of asphalt roads determined which should be major ones, superseding the remainder or relegating them to a minor position.

One profound change in the general pattern did take place in the sixteenth century, when the Via Cassia, which up till then had run past Sutri, as it always had done in the past, was diverted by the Farnese and transferred to the route which ran from Monterosi, through Ronciglione, to Viterbo. This meant a period of prosperity for Ronciglione, but it signalled the final end of Sutri as a town of any importance. The Via Cassia, as the main road, was restored to the route past Sutri (though not to the exact line of the Roman road) at the beginning of the present century and the road through Ronciglione has now become the 'Via Cimina,' a secondary alternative to the Cassia between Monterosi and Viterbo.

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[94] The church of S. Stefano was given to the monastery of S. Paolo in Rome by Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085); 'concedimus tibi . . . ecclesiam S. Stephani cum castello et burgo suo positam iuxta civitatem Sutrinam.'

[95] One argument in favour of a Lombard origin for the occupation of this ridge is that it would not be surprising if they had, in fact, fortified the end, in order to control the Via Cassia which passed along it.

[96] E.g. Ronciglione, Caprarola, Carbognano, Canepina, Soriano nel Cimino, S. Martino al Cimino.

West of Sutri, the present Via Cassia runs in a valley, in which it stays as far as Capranica, ignoring the ridge on which its Roman predecessor lay. We do not know at what time the ridge route was abandoned for the valley, but it was probably after the end of the fourteenth century. For we know that, until then, there was a road leading west from the (presumed) ward of S. Stefano on the end of this ridge, and it is not improbable that this road was still the Via Cassia.

Ronciglione. The town formed one of the possessions of the nearby Prefects of Vico (tenth to fifteenth century) and its medieval quarter attests its early origin. It lay just over 2 km. from the castle of Vico (696881), on the road leading to Viterbo (which the castle controlled). It passed to the Church in 1469, was ceded to the Farnese family and returned to the Church in the seventeenth century. Present population—6,670.[97]

Capranica. The Anguillara family held a castle in the town in the fourteenth century, and it is probable that its origin goes back to some date in the early Middle Ages. It passed to the Church in 1462. Present population—3,849.

Bassano de Sutri. This town, also, like the two above, was probably first inhabited during early medieval times, but its period of prosperity came in the sixteenth century, when the Anguillara family built a palace there. Present population—2,862.

(*iii*) *List of Sites*

The following is a list of the post-Roman sites which lie in the countryside, away from any town. Some of them still stand intact; some are already ruined and forgotten. The latter, in particular, are recorded in detail; the former are added for the sake of completeness.

There are several churches in the immediate vicinity of Sutri which, although they now lie outside the town, once formed part of it or were closely connected with it. These are listed together in one group, at the start of the section on churches, in alphabetical order. They are the present-day survivors of the far greater number which Sutri boasted in its prime (cf. Nispi-Landi, pp. 294-296, for a catalogue of those that once existed, as well as those that remained in his day, 1887).

(*a*) *Churches and Crucifix*

Sutri Churches:

710808	S. Benedetto, north of Sutri, opposite the west end of the town.
716802	S. Fortunata, east of the Via Cassia, opposite the amphitheatre.
700807	S. Giacomo, on a ridge west of Sutri, between the Roman and the modern Via Cassia.
708802	La Madonna del Carmine, on the ridge south of the town.
718799	La Madonna della Cava, attached to the modern cemetery.
705806	La Madonna della Grotta, beside the Via Cassia, west of the town; now roofless.

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[97] The present population of Sutri, for comparison, is 2,982.

712803 La Madonna del Monte, on the amphitheatre hill.

713803 La Madonna del Parto, cut in the rock, on the north side of the amphitheatre hill; see p. 71.

713804 La Madonna del Tempio, beside the Via Cassia, below the town.

707808 S. Vincenzo, west of Sutri, between the present road to the station and the line of the ancient Via Ciminia.

Other Churches and Crucifix:

688854 'Casale S. Angelo,' 1½ km. from Ronciglione on the road to Capranica. A small arch, to hold a bell, crowns the apex of the roof of the building, which is now a farmhouse, and in a disused room, reputed to have been a chapel, are the very faded remains of a fresco, on which a single male figure can be made out, painted in a comparatively recent style. The farmhouse is said to have been the residence of some monks formerly.

690781 S. Angelo, on a ridge near Bassano, 500 m. east of the town. This is a small chapel, standing beside a track leading to the east, at a fork with another track leading south. It is a small building with an apse, of considerable, but uncertain, age.

694836 Crucifix, which once stood 3 km. north of Sutri, on the line of the Via Ciminia. It was made of wood, was set up in 1863 and had disappeared by about 1900—on the evidence of an old man who remembered it. Scratched, or lightly incised, on the upper surface of one of the paving stones from the Via Ciminia, which was placed at the foot of the crucifix, was the following inscription. The stone is still on the spot.

CRUX BENEDITA
.U. SOLA FUISTI
DIGNA PORTARE
REGEM CELORUM
ET DOMINUM
AD MDCCCLXIII

694881 S. Lucia, on the east side of Lago di Vico, 2–2½ km. from Ronciglione in a straight line. It is a small chapel, lying below Vico castle (696881, *q.v.*), beside what was the sixteenth-century road from Ronciglione to Viterbo, which at that time ran beside the lake and not up on the crest of the crater, where the modern road goes. Over the door of the church there are two coats of arms; one shows a fish, a six-pointed star and a rose, the other six fleur-de-lys (the Farnese arms), with a cardinal's hat above. Over an adjacent fountain the Farnese arms, with the cardinal's hat, occur again, divided by a large fleur-de-lys from another, more complicated shield: in the centre a papal tiara and crossed keys concealed by a shield with a cross; on either side the Farnese arms (bis) and a halved crest, with a horizontal bar on the left and three diagonal bars on the right, dropping towards the right (bis); a coronet above the shield. In the sixteenth century the Farnese family controlled both Ronciglione and Caprarola, cardinal Alexander Farnese building a large palace at the latter, and they were instrumental in transferring the Via Cassia to the road through Ronciglione, which then ran past this chapel. The road is lined for 130–150 m. past the chapel, to the north, by the remains of foundations of houses, some of which had cellars. Only one survives, as a modern *casale*.

701785 'S. GIOVANNI A POLLO,' about 2 km. south of Sutri and 1½ km. east of Bassano.[98] The deserted chapel is partly cut in the tufa cliff that runs east and west below the site of a large Roman villa (701785, *q.v.*), and is partly built out from the cliff. Christian graves are also cut along this cliff, with five of them grouped round the chapel, on either side of it (pls. XX, *b*; XXII, *b*). These graves have semi-circular niches, on which there are traces of ochre plastering, above the cavity for the body. It is more probable that they were the cemetery of the chapel than that they were the 'memoriae' of martyrs. For instance, the lowest grave to the left must have been used twice; it has been extended at one end, and there is a double row of slots for the different grave-slabs, to seal the *loculus*. It could be the grave of a husband and wife.

The part of the chapel built out from the cliff is now roofless and it may be later in date, although it was built to extend the chapel. It continues the sides of the cave behind and avoids the graves. The cave itself has a slightly curved end, with short sides which taper towards the building. There is a shallow niche in the eastern side (71 cm. wide × 59 cm. high × 30 cm. deep, at its base), with what may be an equal-armed cross scratched above it. In the middle of the long end wall is a fresco of a standing Christ flanked by two pairs of saints (1.96 m. long × 1.51 m. high). There is no other carving or decoration. The niche may have been an altar or a tabernacle—or just cut later for a lamp. If there was an altar beneath the fresco, there is no trace of it.

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[98] The following description and comment was contributed by P. R. L. Brown.

The fresco is in a common Roman-Byzantine style (fig. 14). The actual colour has faded little, as the cave must have remained sheltered despite its southern aspect; but it is badly damaged. The heads of the saints, the figure of Christ and much of the inscriptions have been destroyed wholly or in part. The plaster must have fallen off the slightly curved wall in great patches.

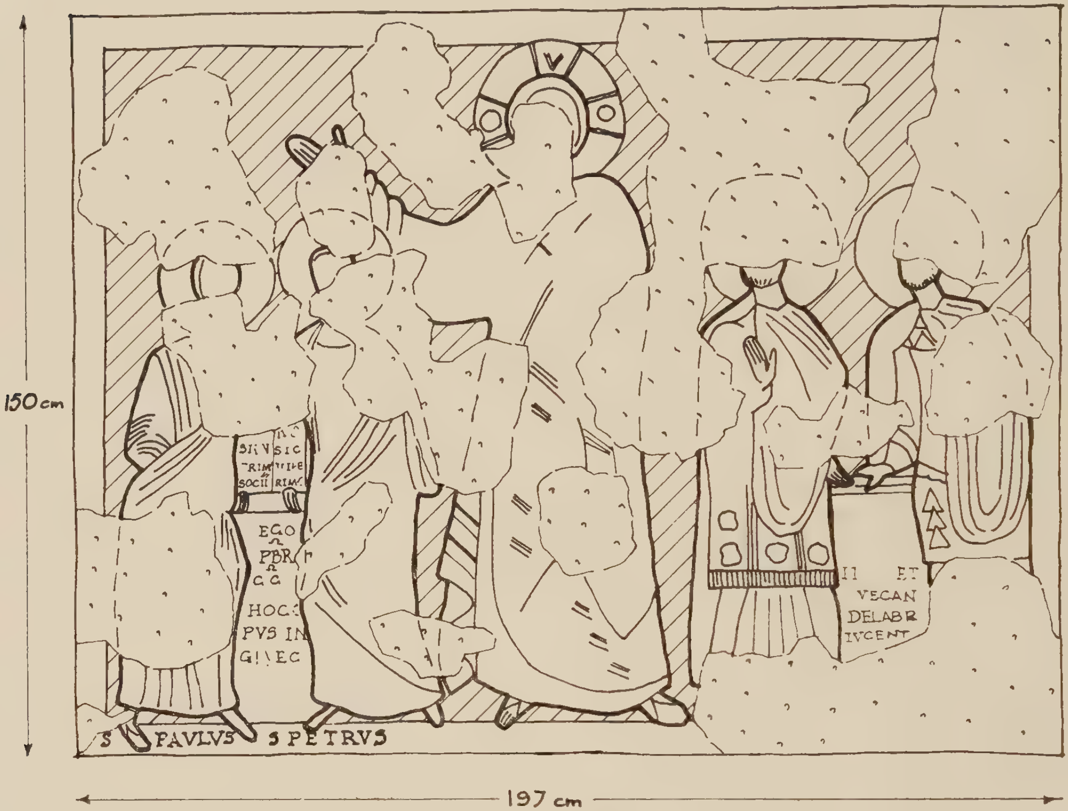

FIG. 14. S. GIOVANNI A POLLO. FRESCO.

To the left, S. Paul and S. Peter hold an open book between them. In the middle, Christ, with cruciform halo, stands with his right arm extended in blessing. To the right, a badly damaged figure in a close-fitting robe holds a long inscription, together with a soldier in Byzantine, scaled armour. They are all saints, with yellow, circular haloes.

The figures are on a blue ground, later framed with a red band, 4.5 cm. wide, which is washed over their feet. Inscriptions in white on this band indicate S. Paul and S. Peter. S. Paul wears robes in dark and light red; S. Peter is in green. Both have the traditional sandalled feet and drapery; but there is no sign of either sword or keys. Between them they hold an open book, where three lines of a damaged inscription have survived on each page. The last two lines of the left page can be read: ERIM'|SOCII; and of the right: . . . E|RIM'.

Beneath the book, where the background is almost green, there is a dedication in white:

EGO|PBR|GG|HOC.|PUS.IN|G.FEC.

This could read: 'Ego presbyter Gregorius hoc opus pingi feci.' Such a reading would make sense. As for Gregory, he might be the priest of the attached estate, though a mere chaplain could have hardly dedicated a fresco; he is not a monk. He could have held the estate from a monastery (as is common in Sutri documents) or from a lay lord.

In the centre, the figure of Christ is dressed in light yellow, with flecks of red, and there are traces, perhaps, of a book which He holds in His left hand.

The figure immediately to the right of Christ is most difficult to interpret. The tight-fitting red robe and the thin face make it look like a woman; but there is a hint of a beard. It wears a short apron, of blue stars with yellow bands, on white. The left hand is raised from the top of the robe and the right is stretched somewhat unnaturally beneath the robe, to hold the inscription. This awkward gesture might be explained by the need to represent both saints holding the scroll with their right hands. If a man, he might be either a priest, or a layman wearing the robes of a Byzantine or Italian courtier, as in Roman paintings.

The saint on the far right is definitely a soldier. He has a beard, and wears a red cloak, a short sword and a breastplate of white scales on bright blue. Between them they hold a long inscription, in which every line is framed in green. The inscription might be on a stiff scroll or even an altar; but it is difficult to see either top or bottom sufficiently clearly to decide which. Letters can be seen for six lines, of which the last three are certain :

. . CAN|DELABRa|LUCENT

'Candelabra lucent' is not a biblical phrase; but the simile of candlesticks is applied especially to martys—for instance, in the eleventh-century hymn of Florus of Lyons :

'Hi sunt aeterno candelabra fulgida templo.'[99]

The right-hand pair, therefore, are martyrs.

The dating of the fresco raises the usual problems. There is no doubt about its style : it is in the Roman-Byzantine tradition, and has nothing in common in style, iconography or lettering with the later frescoes from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the rock-cut church of La Madonna del Parto at Sutri (713803, *q.v.*) (pl. XXII, *a*). But stylistic analysis must be based mainly on Roman examples. This may seem unwise, as there is no doubt, from the frescoes in La Madonna del Parto, that art in Sutri was regional and crude. But there is no sign that the frescoes of La Madonna del Parto are archaic; they try, however, clumsily, to follow the fashions of later medieval art. The same considerations must apply to this fresco; even if we allow for a time-lag, we can still use the distinctive style to place it in the twelfth century, or the thirteenth at the latest. Nor could there be any significant differences in iconography between Sutri and Rome. SS. Peter and Paul, and the soldier, are easily recognisable.

Another problem is to identify the pair on the right. This might be possible on one assumption. They share their martyr's scroll as SS. Peter and Paul share their book. We could assume from this that they are a recognisable pair, linked in the martyrologies, as a soldier with a priest or a layman. Of course, if they are not linked—if, for instance, the soldier is S. George—it would be difficult to trace them.

Perhaps the name of the chapel will provide a clue. 'S. Giovanni a pollo' is bizarre; it might be a corruption of its original dedication. As there seems to have been no other fresco, we might hope to find a 'S. Giovanni,' at least, among the saints. 'SS. Giovanni e Paolo' could be suggested; but these brothers were dressed either as soldiers or as courtiers, and not differently. Nevertheless, it might still be possible to use the iconography of the martyrs to solve this problem.

715850 'Cappuccini Vecchi,' a kilometre south-east of Ronciglione, on a ridge east of the Rio Vicano. The name refers to a large farmhouse, which has a small, round, baroque chapel attached, dedicated to La Madonna della Pietà. The building is said to have been a small monastery, dating perhaps from the eighteenth century, as the chapel contains a dedication of 1811.

717871 SS. Pietro e Filippo Neri, about 1½ km. from Ronciglione, north of the road to Caprarola (pl. XXIII, *b*). There is a well-built seventeenth-century chapel and a large, probably contemporary *casale*. The chapel has the following inscription over the door :

DIVO PETRO MARTIRI ET DIVO
FILIPPO NERIO IN VASIANO DICATU

'In vasiano' refers to the name of a local *contrada*, now 'Vasianello.' The two buildings are attributed to the Farnese. S. Filippo Neri was canonised in 1622.

727841 S. Eusebio, 2½–3 km. south-east of Ronciglione, east of the road to Monterosi. The church, Romanesque in origin, has a central nave and two aisles, divided by columns. There seem to be the ruins of a campanile and of the nucleus of a small convent or monastery attached to it; parts of the church itself are on the point of collapse. A large stone sarcophagus stands outside the door and a Roman funerary altar has been placed in the right aisle (*CIL*, xi, 3215). Various fragments of Roman and medieval sculpture at Casale Campi S. Eusebio, 750 m. away (733836, just beyond the map limits), have all been brought from Rome by the present owner.

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[99] Blume und Dreves, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, L, 212 : 'Hymnus in natale SS. Ioannis et Pauli,' l. 43.

728875 S. Egidio, 2½ km. east of Ronciglione, on the road to Caprarola—a fair-sized church of seventeenth century (?) (pl. XXIII, *c*).

(*b*) *Towers and Fortified Sites*

680807 'Il Castellaccio,' 1½ km. south of Capranica and 2½ km. north of Bassano. The site is a small, fortified promontory, on the north side of a wide ridge called 'Caporipa,' between a deep gorge, the Valle Mazzano, and a re-entrant valley. The promontory is 100 m. wide (N.–S.) by 150 m. long (E.–W.) and approx.; it is defended by a rock-cut ditch, running across its neck at the west end, and by a second, similar ditch on the south side. The west ditch is 4.20 m. wide × 2–3 m. deep and runs the whole width of the promontory. The south ditch, which joins it at its south end, runs 40 m. or so to the east, before coming to an end at the edge of the re-entrant valley; it is 8 m. wide × 3 m. deep, decreasing in depth towards the east, where the ground-level drops. There are the remains of a defensive wall along the inner lip of both ditches, overgrown on the west, but visible on the south (pl. XXIV, *a*). It is faced with regularly coursed, large, square tufa blocks (about 50 cm. by 50 cm.), laid dry. But the blocks are only about 50 cm. long, the core is earth (50 cm. thick) and the rear face is built of the same size blocks, giving a wall about 1.50 m. thick. On the south side, the wall extends only 22 m. from the south-west corner, before it turns north and disappears under grass; it is stepped down the slope. There are traces of house foundations cut in the tufa along the side of the re-entrant valley, both inside and outside the fortifications. No pottery could be found to provide a date, as the promontory was covered with grass. The type of walling suggests that it is ancient, though it is attributed by the locals to rebels from the Orsini, from Capranica, i.e. to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. One argument in favour of an ancient origin is the fact that the site lies on the north side of the ridge along which passed the Etruscan road running west from Sutri towards Blera and Tarquinii. In default of any secure evidence, however, it has seemed best to consider the site as medieval in origin.

696881 Vico Castle, just over 2 km. north-west of Ronciglione, in a direct line, on the end of a high ridge on the east side of Lago di Vico. The end of the ridge has been cut off by a deep, wide ditch (pl. XXIII, *a*), isolating a flat plateau about 150 m. long. On the north end of this plateau, above the ditch, are the ruins of a strong keep, much overgrown, but showing walls of excellent masonry, consisting of small, squared blocks of tufa, laid in close-fitting regular courses, in cement. There are two sizes of masonry to be seen, one using small blocks, the other somewhat larger ones. The rest of the plateau is covered with the foundations of buildings, some of which have cellars or store-rooms hollowed in the tufa below. Stones and tiles are piled all over the plateau and some fragments of straw and mortar were found, in addition to considerable quantities of medieval pottery and some fine-quality, clear glass, with moulded decoration. The castle was the headquarters of the Prefects of Vico (tenth to fifteenth centuries).

707803 Medieval suburb of Sutri, perhaps the ward of S. Stefano, with a castle at one end and two defensive ditches. For a description of it, see pp. 123–125.

708804 Tower of S. Paolo, in the valley south of Sutri, immediately below the town; the ruins of a well-built tufa tower, with a fine, gothic arched doorway, from which the miniature columns have been removed.

709804 Tower of S. Andrea, in the valley south of Sutri, between the tower above and the Via Cassia. The tower seems once to have been attached to another building, which has now disappeared.

(*c*) *Other Sites*

695791 Mola di Bassano, 1½ km. north-east of Bassano, on the road to Sutri. The mill is established at a natural waterfall, where the sides of the valley narrow sharply, and has probably been on the same spot for a considerable time.

699796 'Casalaccio,' 1½ km. south-west of Sutri. The name refers to an area in which there are traces of caves and rock-cut foundations for buildings, together with signs of tufa quarrying. The caves, etc., occur in the slopes at the end of a ridge north of the road to Bassano, with further traces at the ends of the two ridges to east and west. There is no indication of their date.

729863 *Casale* in contrada 'Vignalunga,' 2 km. east of Ronciglione. The *casale* has a coat of arms over the main door: three chevrons, pointing upwards, over a fleur-de-lys. The shield is placed diagonally in its surround; above it there may have been a helmet, now destroyed; eighteenth to nineteenth century (?). The *casale* has since been enlarged.

730879 *Casale*, with walled courtyard and chapel, 3 km. north-east of Ronciglione and 1½ km. south of Caprarola. The courtyard wall has three rifle-slits covering the track which passes it. Above the main gate there is a relief of the Madonna, with the inscription, IMMACULATA CONCEPTIONIS, and a second relief shows a cardinal's hat over a coat of arms, now missing. The *casale* has no less than four sundials on its walls and a Roman funerary inscription is built into it at ground-level (*CIL*, xi, 3169). Date of the *casale*—sixteenth or seventeenth century (?).

GUY DUNCAN.

VI. NOTES ON THE PLATES

IX, *a*, *b*. Sutri and an area of the surrounding countryside to the west. The aerial photograph clearly shows the gorges, which divide the country into a series of separate ridges, converging towards the town. The ancient town occupied the same promontory, and was approximately the same size, as the modern one. The amphitheatre lies in heavy shadow, just beyond the right-hand margin.

The Etruscan road followed the ridge running along the bottom of the photograph. Traces of it and of its Roman and present-day successors, are visible in a field and in woodland towards the lower left corner. The Via Cassia followed the ridge to the north of this one. Its line shows most clearly where it passes through the later, medieval suburb. The Via Ciminia coincided closely with the modern track to be seen running north-west from the town, between small fields and vineyards. But it diverged near the top border, to cross the Fosso to the east.

For a detailed map of part of the area, see fig. 3, p. 67.

X, *a*. Sutri, from the west, viewed from the east end of the ridge along which ran the ancient Via Cassia and on which rose the later, medieval suburb. The modern Via Cassia runs below the town walls, on the left. In the left foreground are the remains of the tower of S. Andrea. Above it, in the background, is the prominent *campanile* of the Cathedral. In the centre background is the isolated hill at the far end of which is the amphitheatre. The two adjacent parallel, ancient road cuttings, Etruscan and Roman (711801 and 712800), lie just beyond the point of the cliff on the right.

The panorama covers an arc of over 90° and has distorted the valley in the foreground, making it appear wider than it really is.

b. Sutri, from the east. The Cathedral, its campanile and the Bishop's Palace occupy the centre of the picture, with a medieval tower on the right. The road in the foreground leads up (past Renaissance walling) to the comparatively recent Porta Romana. The ancient gate, Porta Furia, lies concealed behind the bluff below, to its right, between the spectator and the medieval tower. The ancient Via Cassia probably followed the line of its modern successor, passing to the left of the town, below it.

XI, *a*. Sutri. Remains of the ancient town walls, west of the Porta Vecchia.

b. 'Casale Castellaccio' (722786). Detail of the ancient walling which retains the north side of the main hill.

XII, *a*. Sutri. The amphitheatre: view of the north side. Four of the doors leading from the arena into the surrounding corridor are visible, as well as the mouth of one of the main *vomitoria* and the beginning of the main west entrance (left-hand side). Half-way up the tiers of seats are the four larger semi-circular niches, which contain individual seats, one of them interrupted by the large, later platform (centre of picture). Other niches appear in the rear wall of the amphitheatre, above the seats. The flight of steps running up the tiers of seats on the left of the picture is of post-Roman date and the balustrade visible top left belongs to the garden of the Villa Savorelli, on the hill above.

b. Sutri. The amphitheatre: view of the south side. The division between the lower and the middle tier of seats is clearly visible. The corresponding division between the middle and upper tiers only exists on the right, at the west end (cf. pl. XII, *a*, above). Below it is the mouth of one of the main *vomitoria*.

XIII, *a*. Sutri. The amphitheatre: view of the west end, showing clearly one of the main entrances on the long axis (blocked at its outer end), flanked by two doorways into the corridor around the arena (below) and the mouths of the two western *vomitoria* (above). The flight of steps to the right of the main entrance is post-Roman in date, as is also the walling visible at its top.

b. Sutri. A general view of the northern part of the main cemetery. The tombs illustrated are all comparatively simple. Note the space for a *titulus* over one, with a drip-channel in the rock above. The two more elaborate façades shown in pl. XVI lie beyond the corner to the left.

XIV, *a*. Sutri. The amphitheatre: a view taken inside the corridor which runs around the arena, showing the corridor continuing (on the right) and a flight of steps leading up to the seats above (on the left) (south side, western stairway). The view is taken looking east.

b. Sutri. The amphitheatre: looking down into one of the main *vomitoria*, from its mouth (west end, north side). The steps have been re-cut. The original ones mounted at a slightly steeper angle and traces of them can be seen against the left wall, in the bottom corner of the picture. The view is taken looking west.

c. The so-called 'Grotta d'Orlando' (724796), perhaps originally an Etruscan tomb. The front of the chamber has collapsed.

XV, *a*. Roman mausoleum, on the south crest of Lago di Vico (684871). Only the concrete core survives. View taken from the west.

b. Roman cistern (722818). The view is taken looking along the cistern from its south end. Its vaulted roof has collapsed in the foreground, but is intact in the background, from the point where a map-roll (50 cm. long) has been placed against it. The ruined walls above the cistern belong to the remains of a comparatively modern farmhouse.

c. Roman villa (692872). Stairway down to the underground store-sheds. The upper part of the stairway is built of concrete, the lower part cut in the tufa.

XVI, *a*. Sutri. The main cemetery: detail of the façade of a tomb.

b. Sutri. The main cemetery: detail of the façade of a tomb, one of the pair of very similar, adjacent *columbaria*. The second *columbarium* is half visible on the right. Note the recess for a *titulus* under the arch and, in the upper corners of the same relief panel, above the arch and pseudo-gable, a *patera* (left) and a jug (right), carved in low relief.

XVII, *a*. Sutri: the Town Hall. Honorary inscription to Sulla, *CIL*, xi, 7547.

b. Sutri: the Town Hall. Fragment of a frieze, with part of an inscription on the architrave below (p. 72, no. i).

c. Sutri: the Town Hall. Honorary inscription to Caracalla, *CIL*, xi, 3250.

XVIII, *a*. Ronciglione. Funerary inscription found on a Roman site near the town (706850). *CIL*, xi, 7545.

b. Casale S. Angelo (688854). Funerary altar with an inscription on the front face (p. 72, no. ii).

c. Ronciglione. Funerary inscription, at present in a convent (p. 73, no. iii).

XIX, *a*. Etruscan road cutting, south of Sutri (711801). View taken near the bottom of the cutting.

b. Roman road cutting, south of Sutri (712800), parallel to, and just east of, the Etruscan cutting above. View taken towards the top of the cutting. A *selce* paving block lies on its side in the middle of the road, in the centre of the picture. This Roman road led to the villa at 'S. Giovanni a pollo.'

XX, *a*. 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785). A general view of the site from the south-west. On the right is the artificial cliff, formed by cutting away the end of a natural spur. Built against it, to the left of the dark cave-mouth, can be seen the roofless walls of the chapel. The site of the Roman villa was on the spur above the cliff, about 100 m. back from it, in the centre of the picture.

b. 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785). The chapel and related rock-cut tombs. Drip-channels are cut in the tufa above the tombs and a large example covers both the chapel and the tombs, grouping them together as one unit. To the right, above, is one of several narrow, vertical, votive niches cut in the cliff face. The wooden lean-to beside the chapel is a modern chicken-house and the opening at the right-hand side of the picture is a cave of uncertain date. For a detail of the two tombs to the right of the chapel, see pl. XXII, *b*.

XXI, *a*. 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785). An Ionic capital for an engaged column, of tufa, viewed from below.

b. 'Casale Castellaccio' (722786). Part of an *opus signinum* floor, with pieces of coloured marble inserted at intervals, between which are Xs of black and white tesserae, alternately four black with one white and four white with one black.

c. Roman bath-house (720829). A column capital, of tufa. Behind it is a white map-roll, to demonstrate the profile of the capital.

d. The same. Detail of a black and white mosaic of a marine scene, showing the best-preserved figure, whose head is missing. The figure filled the west side of a roughly square design. There were presumably three other similar figures along the remaining sides (part of one survives); there were smaller figures in the four corners (part of one survives, of an indeterminate nature); and there was probably some more important figure in the centre.

XXII, *a*. Sutri. Detail of a fresco in the rock-cut church of La Madonna del Parto. The figures represent pilgrims on the way to visit the sanctuary of Monte Gargano.

b. 'S. Giovanni a pollo' (701785). Detail of the two tombs to the right of the chapel (cf. pl. XX, *b*). Both retain traces of their original plastering and both demonstrate clearly how they were sealed, with a horizontal slab, or slabs, over the *loculus*. The front of the *loculus* of the lower tomb has since been removed.

c. Crucifix, set in a Roman altar, which stands beside the road Ronciglione–Monterosi (the modern 'Via Cimina'), not far from the former (715847). For the altar, see *CIL*, xi, 3244.

XXIII, *a*. The site of Vico Castle, seen from the east (696881). To the right is the wide ditch which cuts off the end of the spur. The scrub-covered mound to its left represents the ruins of the castle. The flat plateau to the left of the castle, i.e. the end of the spur, was entirely occupied by buildings, of which rock-cut cellars and much debris survive.

b. SS. Pietro e Filippo Neri, near Ronciglione (717871). View taken from the south-east.

c. S. Egidio, between Ronciglione and Caprarola (728875). View taken from the south-east.

XXIV, *a*. 'Il Castellaccio' (680807), a small, fortified site near Capranica. Detail of the wall and ditch along the south side. (The white map-roll is 50 cm. long.)

b. Ronciglione. The castle, viewed from the north-west.

c. Sutri. A corner tower of the medieval walls, at the north-west corner of the town, near the Porta Morona.

APPENDIX

An Inscription from Sutri, now at Casale Pazielli

The following inscription is now in the grounds of the Casale Pazielli, between Monterosi and Fabrica di Roma (*PBSR*, xxv, 1957, pp. 160–161); it is said by the finder, Signor Armando Dorazzi (who unfortunately could not be located at the time of the preparation of this note), to have been ploughed out by himself, together with other Roman antiquities, on the Proprietà dei Forti, north of Sutri, and brought thence to Casale Pazielli. Although re-used, almost certainly in antiquity, it is unlikely that so large a block of marble would have been transported far from its original place of use, and there can be little doubt that it commemorated a local dignitary of Sutri.

In its present form it consists of a block of weathered Italian marble (1.61 × 0.51 surviving × 0.20) inscribed on one face within a moulded panel (1.34 × 0.33 surviving). The block has been re-used as a threshold, with two shallow, circular sockets cut on either side of the panel just above the lower moulding, which has in each case been cut away just below the socket; and there is another socket in the middle of the first surviving line of the text.

Letters: regular and well-cut capitals, perhaps of I cent.; 0.35.
Photos: BSR, 1451 : 9, 10, 11.

. . . praefectus]
fabru[m s]cr(iba) aed(ilium) cur(ulium) et honore usus duum[uir]
iuredicundo duum(uir) quinquennalis pontif(ex) cur(ator)
pecuniae publicae iterum a decurionibus
per tabellam creatus testamento fieri iussit
arbitratu Campatiae Sp(uri) f(iliae) uxoris

The inscription is clearly from the tomb of a local magnate, probably a Sutrine. The Etruscan connexions of his family are indicated by his wife's name;[1] his own probable connection with Sutri by his municipal offices, all of which are attested there.[2] In Nepet and in Falerii Novi, the other towns to which, on geographical grounds, he might reasonably be assigned, local affairs were administered not by duoviri but by quattuorviri at the appropriate date.[3]

The account of his career opened with offices held in the public service at Rome. How much is lost it is impossible to guess—there may have been one or more posts in the equestris militia listed before those of praefectus fabrum and scriba, as in the similar career of M. Pon[tius . . . of Falerii Veteres.[4] The meaning of the phrase *et honore usus* is not absolutely clear. It appears in a number of other inscriptions concerned with scribae, as do the analogous phrases *honore functus* and *munere functus*, and in contexts from which it appears that the *honore usi* formed a recognisable group. Mommsen suggested that they were either identical with the *veteres*, who appear alongside the serving officers in some dedications by apparitores, or men who had been offered the rank of scribe but who had refused its emoluments.[5]

This Roman part of his career represents not more than a modestly honourable achievement. In his own town, however, he attained the distinction of the highest offices and a special mark of public esteem in his second election—by secret ballot—to be *curator pecuniae publicae*. Curatores pecuniae publicae, who appear in several inscriptions from Sutri,[6] can hardly have been concerned with the routine financial administration of the town, which, presumably, fell to the quaestors, but must have had charge of some special fund. This inscription shows that they were elected by the decurions, normally by an open vote. Election by secret ballot, during which, supposedly, the electors were not tempted to adulation of any particular candidate, was a special honour.[7]

J. M. Reynolds

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[1] See W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 115. Campatii are notably numerous at Caere, see *CIL*, xi, index nominum, s.v.

[2] See especially the very similar career of T. Valerius Victor, *CIL*, xi, 3261; decurioni Sutri, IIvir. i.d., iterum quinquennali, curatori pecuniae publicae, pontifici.

[3] *CIL*, xi, pp. 466 and 481.

[4] *CIL*, xi, 3101.

[5] See Mommsen St. R. I^3 340, note 1 for references and a brief comment.

[6] See, *e.g.*, note 2 above.

[7] See Mommsen's note to *CIL*, ii, 1305.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GHADAMES IN TRIPOLITANIA

(Plate XXV)

The three inscriptions described below were seen and photographed at Ghadames in 1955 by Mr. C. J. Barron and subsequently re-examined by Mrs. Olwen Brogan. They illustrate the three main phases of the history of the oasis in classical antiquity—the life of the Roman garrison established in the early third century A.D., of the resultant civil settlement with its Latin speech and customs and, finally, of the native Libyans, using the Latin alphabet but their own language, presumably in the gradual barbarisation of the place after the withdrawal of the garrison. They are published here by kind permission of Dr. Vergara-Caffarelli, Director of Antiquities in Tripolitania.

1. Moulded altar of limestone, the top broken away and lost (0·36 × 0·54 × 0·36) inscribed on one face within a sunk panel. There is a vertical groove down the centre of the back, presumably made in order to attach the altar to a wall. Findspot unrecorded. Now in the courtyard of the Mudiriya.

Letters: 0·035–0·04
Pl. XXV, *b* (photo: C. J. Barron)

. . .]
nae Aug(ustae)[1]
sacrum
M(arcus) Aureli
us Ianu
arius (centurio)
leg(ionis) lll Aug(ustae)[2]
p(iae) u(indicis)[3]
s(oluit) l(ibens) a(nimo)

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[1] The spacing suggests [Discipli]/nae Aug(ustae) or [Fortu]/nae Aug(ustae).

[2] AV in ligature.

[3] Probably between *c.* 198 when the legion is first recorded with these titles and *c.* 231 when it received the additional title S(everiana). The text then contains the earliest surviving dated reference to the legionary detachment stationed at Ghadames. There can, however, be little doubt that a fort there was part of the Tripolitanian frontier system planned by Septimius Severus, see J. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, p. 225 ff. and R. G. Goodchild, *PBSR*, xxii (1954), p. 56 ff.

2. The left part of a limestone panel (0·18 × 0·18) chipped along the upper edge, inscribed on one face within a panel defined by an incised line. Findspot unrecorded; now on the roof of the Maison Modèle.

Letters: 0·04
Pl. XXV, *c* (photo: O. Brogan)

D(is) [M(anibus)]
Atin[ia .. ? ..]
lia Ati[ni[1] .. ? .. ui]
xit an[nos .. ? ..]

[1] Presumably the name of the dead woman's father.

3. Panel of limestone (width not measured × 0·455 × c. 0·17) broken away at the R side and chipped at the two lower corners[1]; inscribed on one face within a sunk panel whose surface is very badly worn and chipped. Findspot unrecorded; now in the courtyard of the Mudiriya.

Letters: 0·02–0·025[2]
Pl. XXV, *a* (photo: C. J. Barron)

[*c. 7 lines of which only an occasional letter can be read*]
ṚA[. . .
ṬẸ[. . .
10 BVE[. . *c.* 13 . .]B[. . .
ḶAṆ[. .]E[.]C[. . *c.* 9 . .]AN *u.* [. . .
LV[. .]ḄVNV[. . *c.* 8 . .]MṂSE[. . .
[. . . .]ṚEMAEICIBESMEỊSḤ[. . .
[. . . .]ṂVSESDVCENỊOSS̶ERIO[. . .
15 [. . . .]ṚISASỊEFEΘ̣AΘ̣ARẸỊṬḶ[. . .[3]

J. M. Reynolds

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[1] The stone gives the impression of belonging to a mausoleum.

[2] The letters are late in character and include some unusual forms: in l. 14, S̶ = ST, see J. Reynolds, *PBSR*, xxiii (1955), p. 128, no. s. 2; and in l. 15, *θ* which, if rightly read, seems to be from the Libyan alphabet, see Reynolds, *loc. cit.*, p. 139, no. S.21.

[3] The language is clearly Libyan and the monument is the first in this language to be recorded at Ghadames. In l. 12 the group of letters B V N V may be a version of *byny*, son of, see R. G. Goodchild, *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxx (1950), p. 139. In l. 14 the cutter may have intended *ducentos* or a form of *ducenarius*.

THE CAESAREUM AT CYRENE AND THE BASILICA AT CREMNA

By J. B. WARD PERKINS and M. H. BALLANCE

with a note on the inscriptions of the Caesareum
by J. M. REYNOLDS

Plates XXVI–XXXVII)

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I. THE CAESAREUM AT CYRENE

One of the most impressive surviving monuments of Roman rule in Africa is the Caesareum at Cyrene. It was excavated some thirty years ago by the Italian Archaeological Mission, led by the late Gaspare Oliverio, and skilfully restored some years later by the Superintendency of Antiquities for Libya;[1] but owing to the other preoccupations of its original investigators and, subsequently to the accidents of war, it has remained substantially unpublished.[2] Recently it has been the subject of comment by Erik Sjöqvist in his valuable study of the Kaisareion at Alexandria, published in the volume of the *Acta* of the Swedish Institute in Rome presented to Axel Boethius on his sixty-fifth birthday.[3] The points raised by

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[1] Under the direction of Professor Giacomo Caputo. The architect responsible for the survey upon which the restoration is based was arch. Arrigo Buonomo, now Superintendent of Monuments for Ravenna.

[2] Brief interim accounts appeared in *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, c. 731 ff., and 1941, cc. 702–03; see also P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana*, Airoldi, 1943, pp. 90, 253; J. B. Ward Perkins, *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxviii, 1948, pp. 62–63; and most recently, Derek Buttle in *Cyrenaican Expedition of the University of Manchester*, 1952, Manchester University Press, 1956, pp. 33–34 ('Forum of Proculus').

[3] Erik Sjöqvist, 'Kaisareion: a study in architectural iconography.' *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, xviii (= *Opuscula Romana*, i), 1954, pp. 86–108.

Sjöqvist are of considerable importance for the study both of the origins and of the later development of a rich field of Roman monumental architecture, and in the summer of 1956 the British School at Rome undertook limited supplementary excavations within the Caesareum with the specific purpose of clearing up some doubtful points of fact. The main purpose of the present article is to present the results of these excavations within the framework of a more detailed architectural description of the site than is at present available.[4]

To this description it has seemed useful to add a brief account and some illustration of the basilica at Cremna in Pisidia, a building which has certain obvious features in common with the Caesareum, but which has hitherto escaped the attention of most students of classical architecture, principally owing to the accident of the illness of Lanckoronski's architect and draughtsman on the occasion of Lanckoronski's own visit to the site in 1885.

The site of the Caesareum is a fine one, near the crest of the ridge that runs north-westward from the main plateau towards the Agora and the Acropolis (pl. XXVII, *a*). Near the base of this promontory the axial street was crossed at right-angles by the street that led across from the *Balagrae* (Beda) gate towards the cross-roads at the centre of the Roman town, and the Caesareum stood in the northern angle between these two streets. Along its north-east side there ran a secondary street, parallel with the main axial street; and on the fourth side, to the north-west, stood the Great Theatre. The plot of land so delimited was almost exactly rectangular, measuring 95.70 m. from north-west to south-east and 84.50 m. from north-east to south-west. The axial street was sited to run approximately along the crest of the ridge, and the natural ground-level within the Caesareum consequently sloped gently downwards from this side; near the south-east end of the outer face of the Basilica there is a drop of nearly 3½ m. between the pavement-level within the building and the road-surface without.

In the form in which it now appears (Fig. 1) the Caesareum consists of three distinct but related elements—a three-aisled basilical hall which, together with its apse and vestibule, occupies the whole of the north-east side of the complex and extends nearly one-third of the way across it; an open space, which for convenience of reference may be termed 'the Quadriporticus,'[5] since it has Doric porticoes around three sides, and along the fourth a Doric colonnade, which serves also as the outer wall of the Basilica, the south-west aisle of which in effect constitutes a fourth portico; and, near the middle of the open space so enclosed, a small temple. Before discussing the interrelationship of these three elements, it will be necessary first to describe the surviving remains of each.

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[4] The survey upon which the illustrations in this article are based was undertaken in 1956 by Mr. and Mrs. C. I. Hobbis, revised and supplemented in 1958 by Mrs. Selina Tomlin, to all of whom the writer is deeply indebted; also to Mrs. Audrey Corbett, who made the original drawings for figs. 21-23. Much of the final drawing is the work of Mr. David Dickens; also Mrs. A. Rigby (fig. 13) and Mrs. Margaret Richards (figs. 15, 16). Our warm thanks are due to Mr. R. G. Goodchild, and to his assistants in the Department of Antiquities, for help and advice at every stage of the work.

[5] Sjöqvist (*op. cit.* p. 98, n. 2) objects to the writer's previous use of the term 'Forum' in this context, since the building encloses a temple and should, therefore, rightly be called a *temenos*, not a *forum*. That the two terms are mutually exclusive is in fact questionable, cf. the contemporary Forum Iulium in the capital; but to avoid prejudging the significance of the building, it is perhaps wiser to use a neutral architectural term.

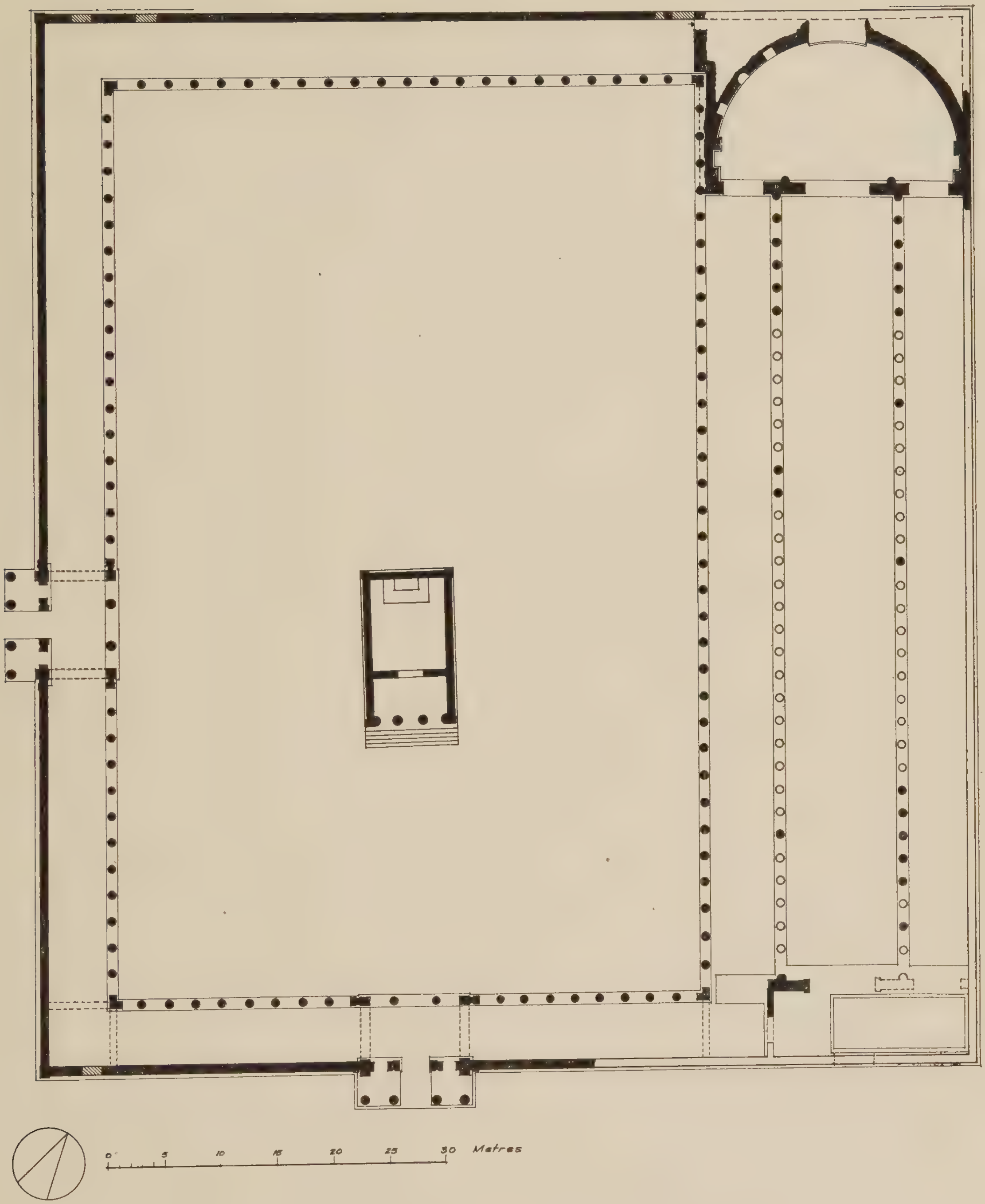

Fig. 1. The Caesareum at Cyrene, General Plan

(Note: solid colour indicates features still standing or re-erected above pavement level; doorways cut in late antiquity are shown hatched)

(*a*) *The Quadriporticus*

The Quadriporticus consists essentially of an open space measuring approximately 52 by 81 m., delimited on all four sides by Doric colonnades; it was entered near the middle of the south-west and south-east sides by two tetrastyle, gabled porches, which project outwards into the street. There are also several smaller, secondary entrances; but these are all late insertions. The outer walls, which enclose also the Basilica, are of fine ashlar masonry, which was found fallen and has been skilfully restored over rather more than half of the total perimeter. It stood on the retaining wall of a massive platform, and this, so far as one can judge in its present state, was absolutely uniform around the whole building. There does not appear to have been any break in the continuity of the masonry, certainly no change in its character (the partial interruption at the south-east end of the Basilica is an intrusive feature, possibly the result of inserting an entrance that was later suppressed; see below, p. 189); the description that follows applies equally to the whole perimeter of the monument.

The outer retaining wall of the platform is built of fine-quality, local limestone laid to a fine isodomic bond in alternate courses of headers and stretchers (Pl. XXXIV, *a*). The height of the courses varies from 44 to 46 cm., the length of the stretcher blocks from 1.56 to 1.58 m.) the thickness of the wall, about 1.50 m. on an average, is variable, since the inner face was not visible and the blocks were laid as quarried, in slightly varying lengths. On the exposed outer surfaces the individual blocks were very carefully finished, with a smooth, drafted border, 4–5 cm. wide, and a very slightly raised central panel, which has been roughened to a series of fine, oblique striations by means of a fine claw-chisel—a refined variant of the coarser, functional dressing on the inner face of the wall above it. Long exposure has obliterated most of the dressed surface, but traces can still be made out along the south-west and south-east faces (pl. XXXIV, *b*).

On this platform, set back about 50 cm. from the upper edge of it, rises the main outer wall. This, too, is of isodomic masonry, 75 cm. wide and built of a single thickness of large stretcher blocks, 1.56–1.58 m. long and laid so that the vertical joints of each course fall exactly half-way along the blocks of the courses immediately above and below. In contrast to the decorative finish of the platform on which it stood, the outer face of this wall seems to have been dressed smooth; the inner face, which was concealed by plaster, was dressed to an obliquely-striated finish with a coarse point (pl. XXVIII, *b*), and there are traces here and there of functional drafting along the horizontal joints. The wall rose from platform-level to a total height of sixteen courses (together, 7.40 m.), of which the top three constituted a Doric entablature. Apart from the two porches projecting from near the middle of the south-west and south-east sides, the only decorative features of the exterior were that above the bottom two courses,[5a] the wall-face was set back a further 5 cm., and that, above the shallow plinth so formed, the recessed surfaces were framed between correspondingly shallow, plain pilasters, set at the angles of the building and on either side of the porches.[6]

[5a] West of the south-west porch the set-back rises a course, to compensate for the gentle but steady rise in the street-level along this façade (see fig. 3).

The exterior of the building was thus of a severely monumental character, dependent for its architectural effect almost entirely upon its grandiose proportions and upon the fine quality of its masonry (p. XXVII, *b*). The interior was correspondingly simple, a straightforward Doric quadriporticus, broken only by the internal gables of the two porches. On three sides the colonnades form part of simple, timber-roofed porticoes, 5.00–5.10 m. wide internally; and on the fourth side the colonnade opens directly into the south-west aisle of the Basilica. At the four angles there were L-shaped, rectangular piers, and between these along the north-west and north-east sides were 21 and 33 columns (i.e. 22 and 34 intercolumniations) respectively. The other two sides were interrupted by the entrances from the street, the roofing of which was carried through to an inner gable on the line of the interior colonnades. That on the south-east side was placed symmetrically to the inner façade of the portico, with 8 columns (9 intercolumniations) to either side of the porch; the other was placed slightly to the south-east of the cross-axis, with 17 columns (18 intercolumniations) to the left as one entered and 11 (12 intercolumniations) to the right. The inner façade of each porch together with its flanking piers thus occupies the place of 5 columns, and consists of two composite piers (the function of which was to accommodate the differing heights of porch and portico) and, between them, two columns.

The columns of the inner colonnades were carried on a footing of irregular, quarry-dressed header-blocks, capped by a single course of more carefully dressed stretchers, 44–45 cm. in depth and 89–91 cm. across. The individual blocks of this top course are 1.10–1.11 m. long, and the columns rest on alternate blocks. The columns themselves are restored, having been dismantled in late antiquity when the whole building was converted into a barracks (pl. XXVIII, *a*; cf. XXVI, *a*). In re-erecting them, however, the excavators had the guidance not only of the intercolumniation, which can be determined from the length of the architrave blocks (2.36 m.), but also of the differential wear beneath and between the column-seatings; and although there were probably minor discrepancies in the dimensions of individual pieces, discrepancies which would have been concealed by the overall stucco finish, the general form is clearly established as that shown in fig. 6. The shaft, which is made up of 7 drums, and the capital together measure 5.20 m., a height which is confirmed not only by the position of the sockets for the roofing-timbers in the outer wall, but also by the position of the corresponding entablature features on the flanks of the two porches; the individual shafts taper markedly and are fluted above and faceted below, with a maximum of entasis a short distance above the point of junction.

The organisation of the Doric entablature (pl. XXIX; fig. 2) is simple and presented no special problems. There are three sets of triglyphs and metopes to each intercolumniation and, in order to gain added strength and at the same time to avoid any visible joints, the frieze was cut in units of three metopes and two sets

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[6] The character of these pilasters has been falsified in the restoration of the south-west porch by showing them as capped by an independent moulding *below* the architrave block of the wall entablature (pl. XXX, *a*). In fact, it is quite clear at the west angle that they ran up to, and were capped by, an element projecting from the horizontal moulding immediately below the triglyphs.

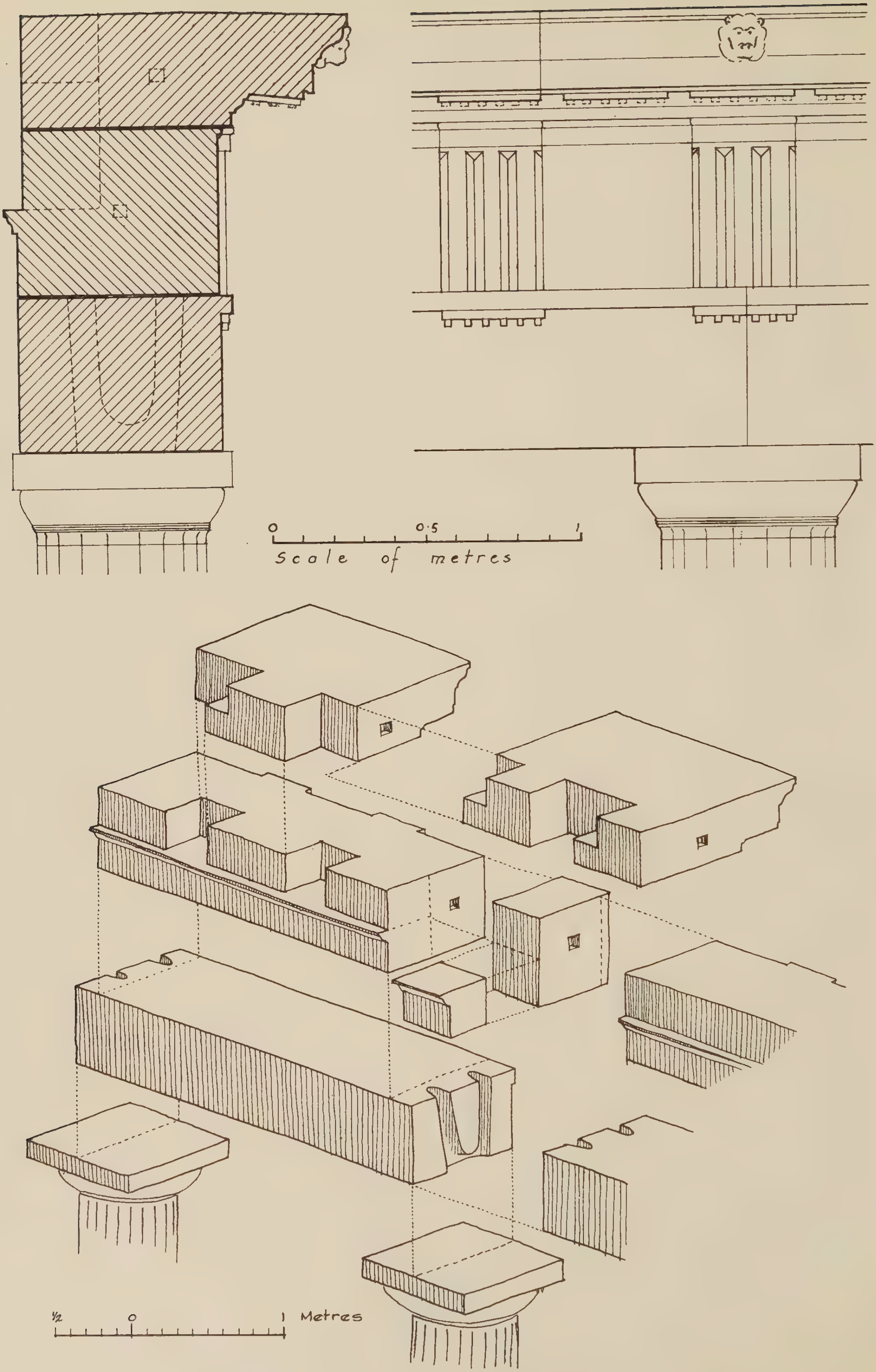
0
0·5
1
Scale of metres
½
0
1
Metres

Fig. 2. Entablature of the Quadriporticus

of triglyphs, joined immediately above each column by a much smaller block containing a single set of triglyphs, cut with a slight overlap so as to mask the joints at either end. Frieze and architrave alike were thus directly supported by the columns and served to reinforce each other in carrying the cornice blocks, of which there were two (i.e. one whole block and two half-blocks) to each intercolumniation. The lion-heads on alternate cornice blocks (i.e. above each column) are purely decorative. The only other features of note are the U-shaped lifting-grooves on the ends of the architrave blocks, and the small, square holes, 4 × 4 cm., on the ends of the frieze and cornice blocks, which must have held wooden pegs to ensure the proper positioning of the successive blocks during construction. There are no cramps or dowels. The whole was faced in stucco, of which substantial traces remain, and it may be that the mutules, which are now plain, had guttae in the same material.

The roof was carried on pairs of timbers, one horizontal and level with the upper part of the frieze, and one above it, sloping gently upwards from the rear upper angle of the cornice. There were three pairs to each intercolumniation, one to each set of triglyphs, two of the horizontal timbers resting in sockets cut in the main frieze block, while the third (that directly over the column) was supported on a small block inserted behind the independent triglyph block. The sockets average 24–26 cm. in breadth, and it is interesting to note that the roof-timbers were inserted when the whole entablature was already in position, since the lower row of sockets was cut down through the cornice as well. In a great many cases the upper timbers do not correspond exactly with the lower but seem to have been deliberately set 10–15 cm. to one side or the other (pl. XXIX, *b*).

In their present state the two principal entrances are complementary. Of the south-eastern porch enough has been preserved for an almost complete restoration of the inner façade (pl. XXX, *b*; fig. 6), whereas two inscribed architrave blocks and odd fragments of the remaining entablature are all that survive above column-height of the gable facing on to the street. In the south-western porch the positions are reversed; the inner gable has gone, but most of the architrave and frieze and a substantial part of the pediment of the street façade are preserved and have been restored (pl. XXX, *a*; fig. 3). Enough survives of both to show that they were to all intents and purposes identical, except for the columns of the inner façade of the south-west porch, which taper less and are unfluted; they presumably represent a restoration.

In each case the actual porch was carried on a podium approximately 10 m. wide, level with the top of the main platform of the building and projecting 3 m. from it. The outer façade was tetrastyle, with the intercolumnations in the proportions of 2:3:2, a disposition which permitted an arrangement of 11 virtually identical metopes, disposed 3:4:3. The columns (with their capitals, 7.50 m. high) were composed of 10 drums, faceted to a height of 1.52 m. and fluted above; the architraves were inscribed (see below, p. 159 f.). Responding pilasters projected from the main wall to carry the return of the entablature along the flanks, and between these pilasters the wall was thickened (the details of this seem to have varied slightly between the two entrances) to accommodate a large central and two smaller flanking doorways. These are now much damaged, but they were

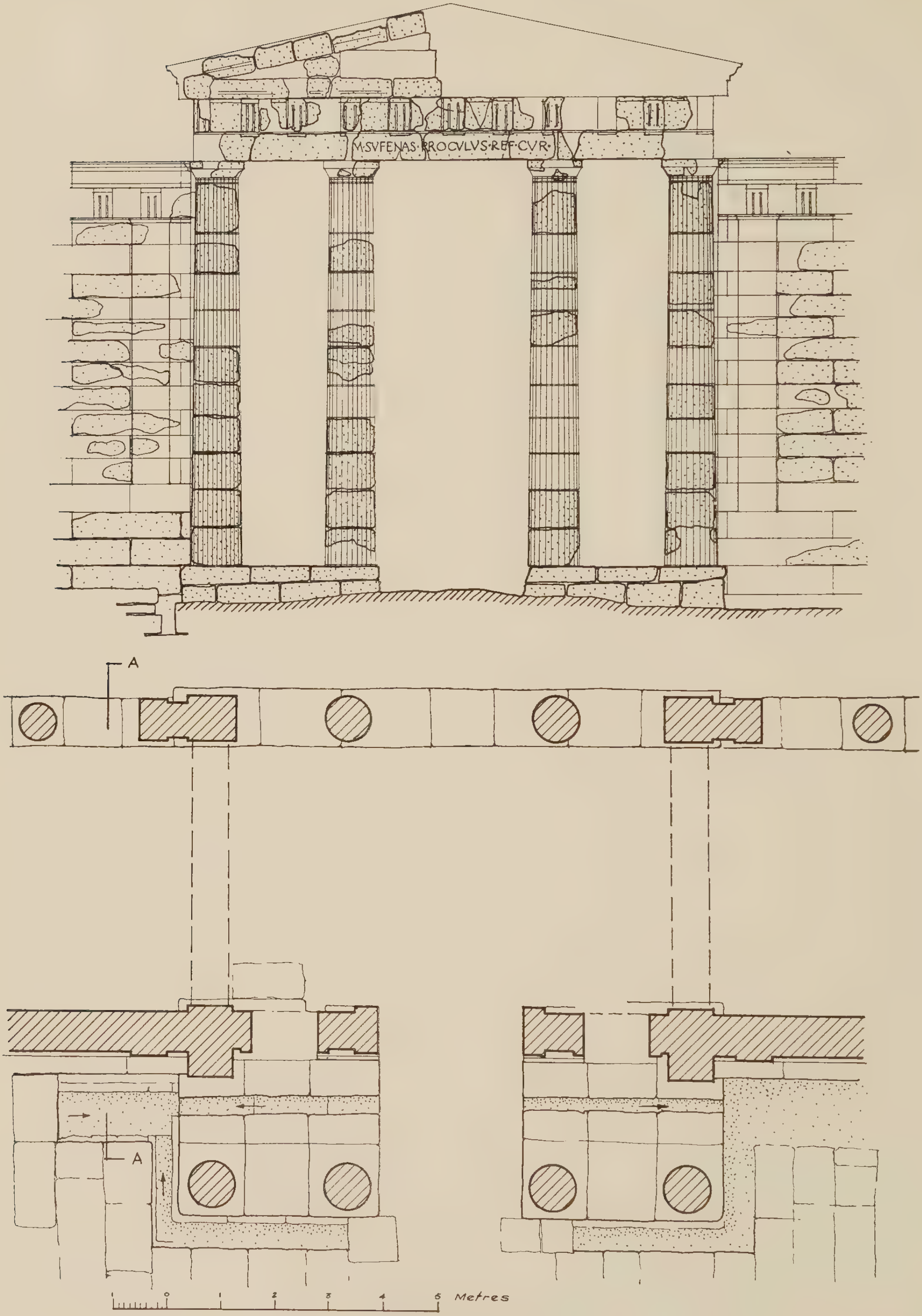
M·SVFENAS·PROCVLVS·REF·CVR·
A
A
0 1 2 3 4 5 Metres

FIG. 3. SOUTH-WEST PORCH, OUTER FAÇADE AND PLAN

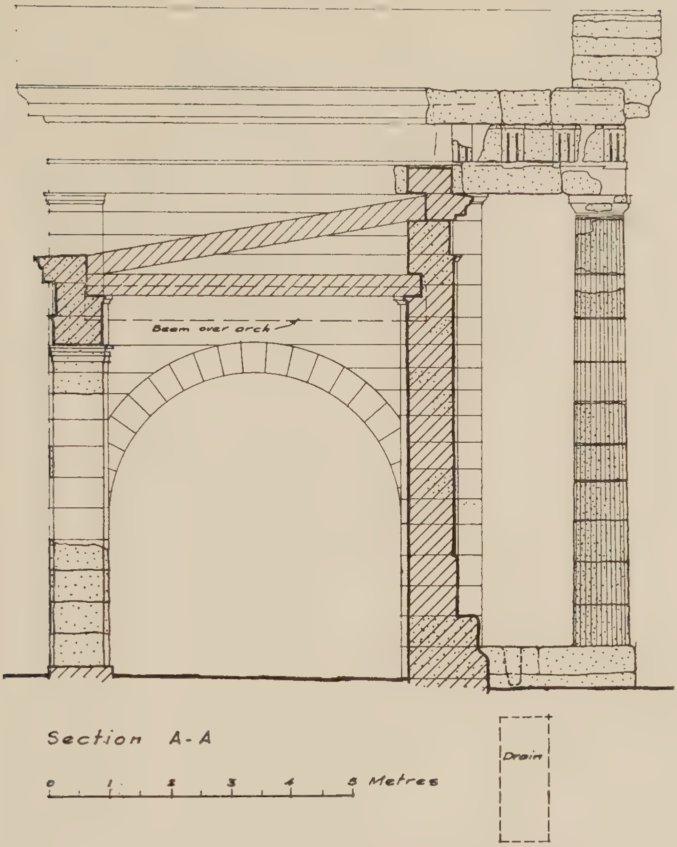

Fig. 4. South-west Porch, Transverse Section

evidently of very simple design, with flat lintels and plain framing mouldings. The inner façade was very similar to the outer, except for the use of composite rectangular piers in place of the angle columns. These piers served the double purpose of bridging the transition from the architrave height of the inner colonnades (5.20 m.) to that of the inner gable (7.50 m.), and of taking up the discrepancy between the width of the porch and the five intercolumniations of the colonnade of which it had to fill the place. Above the level of the portico-roof, they also served as the antae of the walls flanking the inner gable of the porch.[7] These flanking walls were carried on large transverse timbers, the sockets for which can be seen just above the level of the portico capitals;[8] and the timbers in turn were supported by masonry arches—a curious duplication of effort, which rather suggests that, to the builders, the arch was an unfamiliar device upon which they were reluctant to rely without the additional support of traditional materials. These arches (without the timbers) were repeated at the south, east and north angles of the Quadriporticus (but not, as now restored, at the west angle);[9] in addition to their structural function, they served to emphasise the distinction between porch and portico by interposing a screen of masonry between their contrasting roof-systems.

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[7] In the restoration of the south-west porch, the character of these antae has been obscured by carrying the moulding that corresponds to the capitals of the inner porch-facade round the inner, south-west faces of the two piers. At this level they are, in fact, the broken outer ends of walls that stretched right across the portico above arch-height.

[8] It is to be presumed that both porches were alike in this respect, although the sockets for the timbers are actually preserved only in the case of the south-west porch.

A somewhat unusual feature of both porches is the fact that the platform that carries the columns is slightly raised above the actual approach to the central doorway, which takes the form of a shallow recessed passage-way between the two central columns. That this feature, which gave added height and dignity to the outer façade, belongs to the original construction, is clear both from the plan of the slabs of which the platform is composed and the dressing of their vertical faces, and from the levels of their footings in relation to the platforms themselves and to the streets upon which they fronted. There were complicating factors in both cases. The platform of the south-west porch, which is bonded into, but not coursed with, the footings of the main outer wall, overrides a large rectangular drain, which ran the full length of the outer wall, beside the main street leading to the Agora (fig. 5, *b*). A substantial offset at the bottom of the second course down served as a seating for the paving of the street, which originally ran right up to the platform. Later, the paving was stripped back and a feeder drain cut into the top of the third course, which projects some 75 cm. and constitutes the top of the main footings of the porch. To this same later date belong presumably a deep drainage-channel cut right across the platform and some, if not all, of the sockets for door-fittings cut in the jambs of the three doorways. Originally there was probably a raised threshold in the central doorway, and it may well have had an independent door-frame.

The levels of the south-east porch (fig. 6) were complicated by the gentle slope of the street upon which it opened. On the south-west side the pavement-offset is only 18 cm. below the top of the platform; along the front and north-east sides it is 30 cm., i.e. one complete course, down. This was almost certainly the level of the original entrance, which was only later cut down another 30 cm. to the level of the existing outer threshold, which is of marble and certainly a late feature. Other late features are a number of drainage-runnels cut in the surface of the platform; the south-west jamb of the central door, which incorporates part of a Hadrianic inscription (p. 161, no. IV, *a*); and a pair of blocks on either side of the central opening, which may perhaps have supported the jambs of an inserted doorway, or which may merely have served to wedge the threshold into place.

Most or all of these later features belong to late antiquity, when the whole building, including the Basilica, was radically transformed to serve as quarters for the troops stationed at Cyrene. The porticoes were dismantled, and the whole of the interior was laid out as a series of irregular barrack-blocks, grouped about an internal street, which ran round three sides of the building, parallel with the outer walls. These arrangements were, of necessity, very largely cleared away when the building was restored to its original monumental form; but they are recorded in a

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[9] At this angle, only the lowest courses of the angle-pier survive, but the two outer walls have been re-erected to their full height and the masonry (most of it ancient) shows no trace of the sockets for the springing of the arches. It is difficult, however, to be sure, and one would certainly have expected the south and the west angles of the building to be treated uniformly in this respect.

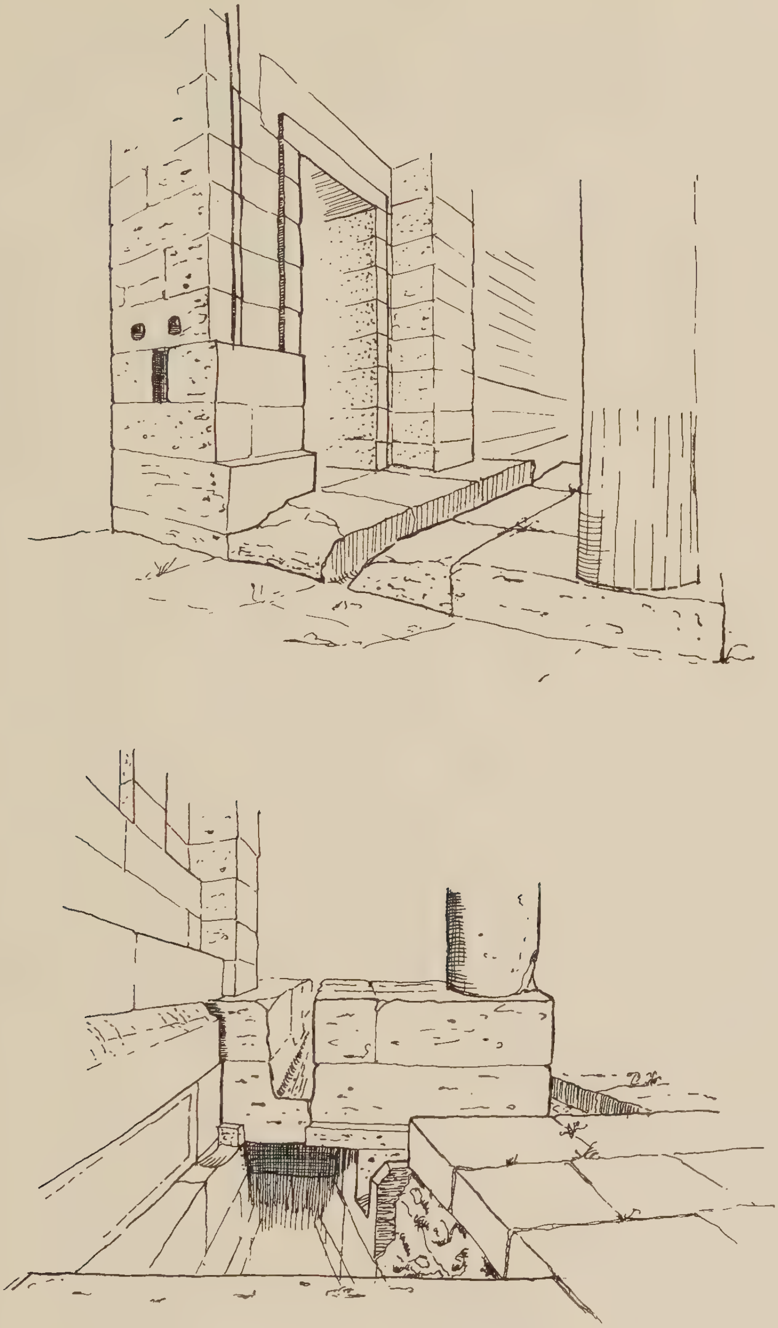

Fig. 5. South-west Porch

(*a*) (*above*) Part of Inner Façade
(*b*) (*below*) North-west Flank, Showing Drainage-System

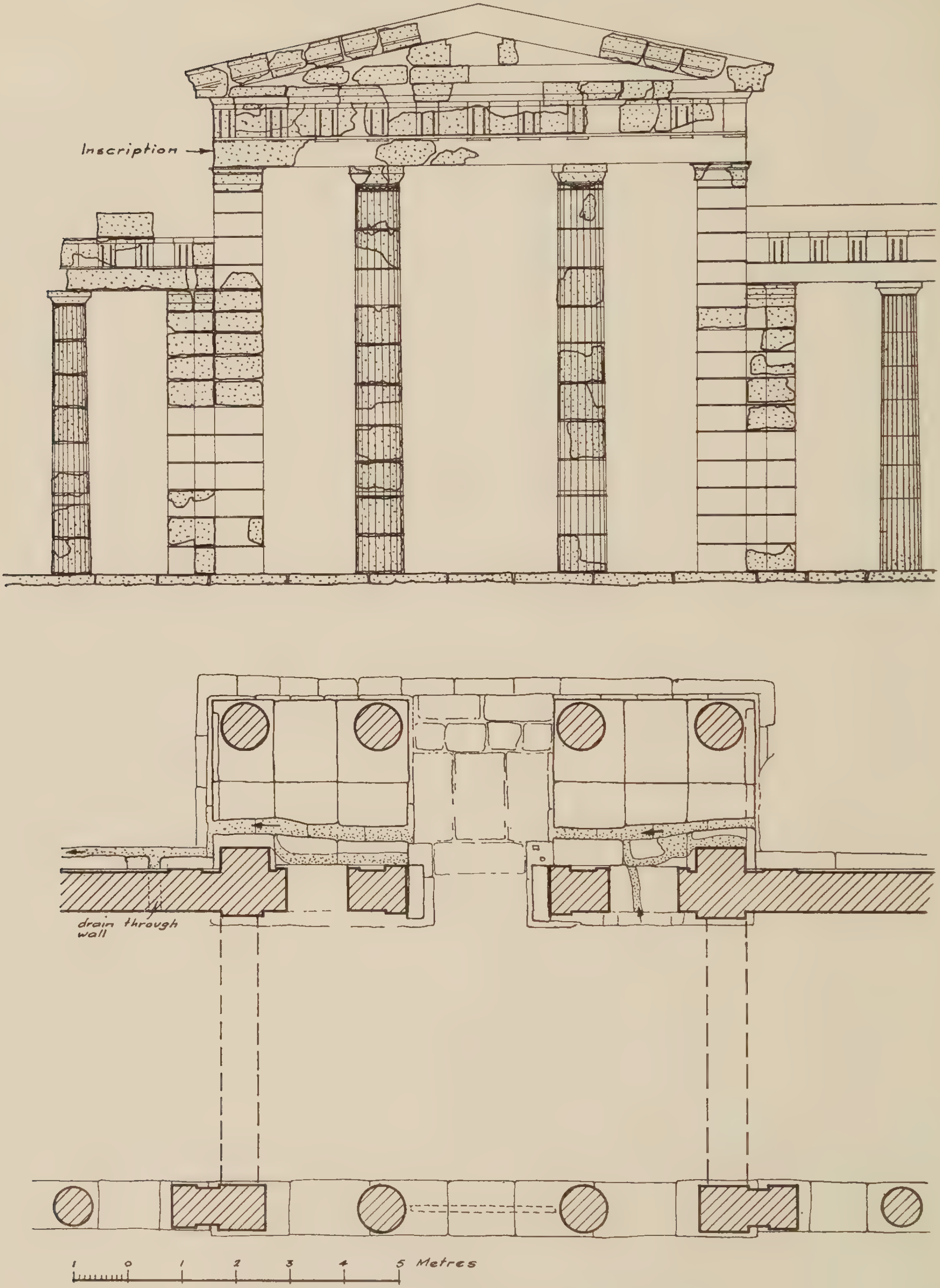
Inscription
drain through wall
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 Metres

Fig. 6. South-east Porch, Inner Façade and Plan

somewhat schematic plan (pl. XXVI, *b*) and in a number of photographs (pl. XXVI, *a*), and they have left their mark at a number of points within the building as it now stands. The most significant of these are the embrasures cut in the outer south-west and south-east walls; a certain number of secondary beam-holes; several doors cut in the outer wall, at either end of the south-west portico and at the north end of the north-west portico; some cisterns; and scattered walls within the central open space, including several stretches of coarse, late mosaic. Both porches were modified, probably on this occasion, by lowering the passage between the central pair of columns; the marble sill is still in place in the south-east porch, 60 cm. below the earlier pavement. At the same time drainage-channels were cut in the floors of both porches, fed both from within the building and from drip-channels cut along the base of the outer façade. These arrangements were connected with a radical reorganisation of the city's defences, which will be described on another occasion by Mr. R. G. Goodchild.

(*b*) *The Basilica*

Far less is preserved of the Basilica than of the Quadriporticus. For this there are several reasons. One is that the floor-level stood at a greater height above the natural ground-level, so that what is preserved is for the most part footings rather than superstructures; another is that, being a more complex building, it suffered more radical damage when the whole monument was converted to other uses in late antiquity. Except at the north-west end, which is not yet completely excavated, the walls are nowhere preserved more than a course or two above pavement-level, and even what has survived is very fragmentary, having suffered badly from the action of weather, since excavation.

The Basilical Hall. In its latest monumental form the building consisted of three distinct elements, separated from each other by two transverse walls: a three-aisled basilical hall, occupying rather more than three quarters of the available space; a narrow vestibule or narthex at the south-east end, corresponding in width to the south-east portico of the Quadriporticus; and at the opposite end, extending south-eastwards as far as the fourth column of the north-east colonnade of the Quadriporticus, a large apsidal chamber, occupying the whole width of the basilical hall. The basilical hall (pl. XXXII, *a*) was 69.40 m. long and was divided into a central nave and two lateral aisles measuring, from north-east to south-west, 5.40, 10.20 and 6.00 m. respectively. It is very ruinous, but the stumps of enough columns of the north-east internal colonnade remain in position to determine that it consisted, when complete, of 33 columns with two slightly elongated semicolumnar responds, i.e. 34 complete intercolumniations spread over a distance of 69.40 m. Since this distance is the equivalent of only 29¼ intercolumniations of the Quadriporticus, it will be seen that, despite the close physical relationship between the two buildings, the architect of the Basilica made no attempt to secure any exact proportion or correspondence between its colonnades and those of the Quadriporticus. The columns of the nave are too badly weathered for precise measurement, but they must have measured approximately 75 cm. in diameter at the base. Unlike those of the portico, they were not fluted and, not only were the proportions generally more massive, but they seem to have had a small, splayed base.[10] There is no independent evidence for their height; but there are considerable remains of the entablature that they carried, and this can be seen to be inscribed over the erased remains of an earlier inscription, and to have recorded (in its recut form) the restoration of the building after the Jewish revolt A.D. 117 (see below, p. 162, no. IV *b*).

What appears to be the original limestone paving is preserved over much of the north-western half of the central and north-eastern aisles. It has sagged badly in places (the pattern of the sagging indicates the presence of several earlier walls incorporated within the body of the main platform), but it was originally laid flush with the stylobate. It indicates that there was a considerable step up at some point, almost certainly between the south-western and central aisles.

The late-antique remodelling of the building included the insertion of a transverse room or hall across both the central and north-eastern aisles at a point corresponding to columns 16–19 (reading from the north-west) of the Quadriporticus, i.e. roughly on the cross-axis. Its position is marked by the partly-preserved remains of the two flanking walls and by a patchwork marble floor. To the south-east of this point the whole building is cluttered with the remains of late structures, many of which have cut down through floor-level. These include a longitudinal drainage channel and several cisterns scooped out of the fill beneath the north-east aisle, with later entrances broken through the outer platform wall. There are also several small open tanks or vats.

The Apse (pl. XXXIII, *b*; fig. 7). Like the basilical hall, the apse is patently an after-thought, adapted to the rest of the monument with very little regard for the architectural niceties. This is particularly apparent where it abuts on the Quadriporticus. In the absence of any note by the excavator, it is impossible to be certain exactly how this awkward junction was in fact handled; the first four columns of the colonnade must in any case have been reduced to little more than a decorative facade, set against the solid masonry behind it.[11] The junction of apse and basilical hall was more organically contrived, by means of a screen-wall, in which were three large doors, corresponding to nave and aisles. Projecting from this wall towards the south-east were the responding pilasters of the nave colonnades, and towards the north-west, differently spaced, the semicolumns (diam. 90 cm.) of an engaged order internal to the apsidal hall. To this order belonged also two rectangular piers in the two angles and a corresponding pair to the north-west of these, indicating that the order returned for a short distance at any rate along the flanks of the apse, giving it a slightly segmental plan. Whether or not one regards it as having been

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[10] For the profile of this base one is now dependent almost entirely on the restorations undertaken twenty years ago, before the excavated remains had disintegrated. Given the crumbling nature of the surviving remains, the present restored height of just under 8 m., including the capital, is bound also to be an approximation.

[11] It is very likely that they projected from it as built-in half-columns. The masonry of the outer flank of the basilica apse now presents a shapeless, ragged face, the result partly of disintegration due to the uneven settlement of the apse foundations, partly of demolition in recent times, undertaken to facilitate the restoration of the Quadriporticus; it is certain, however, that the flank of the basilica was built right up to, and partly clasped, the angle pier. Two small doors in the outer north-west wall and a corresponding wall across the north-west portico date from late antiquity; but a small flight of steps up into what appears to have been a space (or staircase) behind the apse may well be an earlier feature.

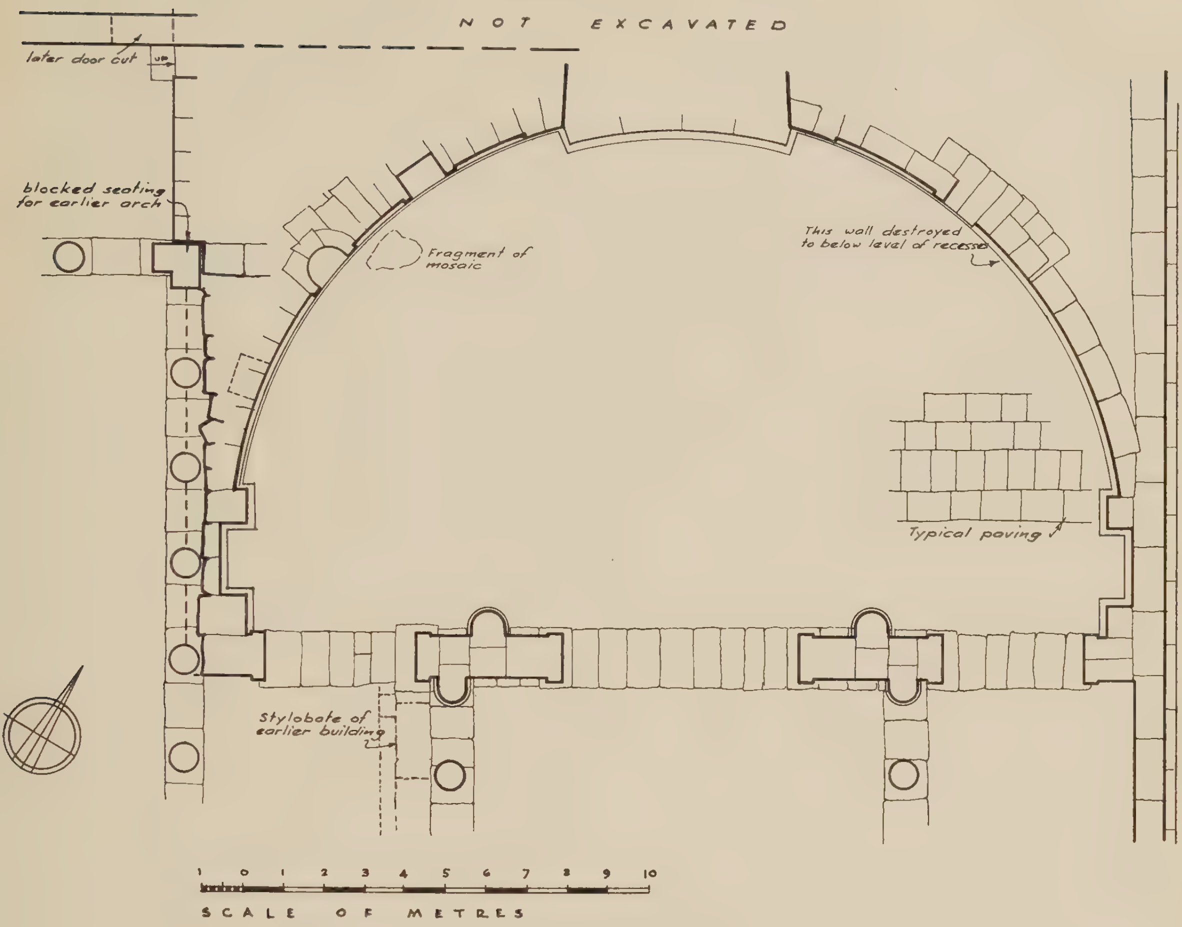
NOT EXCAVATED
later door cut
UP
blocked seating for earlier arch
Fragment of mosaic
This wall destroyed to below level of recesses
Typical paving
Stylobate of earlier building
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE OF METRES

Fig. 7. Basilica, the Apse

carried also round the curve of the apse depends on one's interpretation of the surviving decorative scheme of the rest of the apse wall. This was divided into three symmetrical but unequal sections by the broad, shallow pilasters (1 m. wide and projecting 12 cm.) which separated an axial feature from two panels containing a series of decorative niches. These pilasters may have been no more than a frame for the axial feature, but they could equally well have carried a shallow continuation of the internal order round the whole curve of the apse. The latter alternative finds support in the fact that the flanking sections seem to have been treated as decorative units framed between these pilasters and the terminal piers of the order. Instead of the crowning moulding of a conventional decorative plinth, the whole of the fifth course of each flanking section is set forward 12 cm. to form a plain, projecting band, which is flush with and merges into the pilaster; and although the junction with the pier at the other end is lost, symmetry and the absence of any corresponding pilaster both show that it must have run right through to the pier. It looks, therefore, as if the decorative order were carried right round the apse, but in a rather shallower form than across the wall dividing the apse from the nave. Above plinth-height in each of the flanking sections it framed a symmetrical scheme of one semicircular and two rectangular niches, which contained statues (see p. 163). The heads of the niches are lost, but the semicircular ones may have had shells in relief, like those of the two rather smaller niche-heads that are lying among the debris just beyond the apse, which must come from some other part of the destroyed superstructure.

The feature on the axis of the apse consisted of a platform projecting 58 cm. from the inner circumference of the apse and rising four courses (1.44 m.) from pavement-level; it had a base moulding, which returns and is continuous with that of the rest of the apse, and there was doubtless a corresponding crowning moulding, which has now weathered completely away. Above this level the apse wall is cut back along the line of the flanks of the platform to a depth of 1.50–1.60 m., the back of the resulting recess being formed by the now-collapsed outer wall of the whole building. This recess was later blocked.

The roofing of the apsidal chamber (assuming it to have been roofed) is a matter of conjecture. To judge from the greater dimension of the internal columns it must have sprung from a point at least as high as the total height of the central nave of the basilica and, since the roofs were evidently low-pitched, it may well have cleared the whole gable. As regards the detailed arrangement of the roofing timbers, one can only presume that the engaged internal order served in some way to carry the main beams.

Even more conjectural is the accommodation of the exterior of the apse to the rectangular outline of the building as a whole, and it may be doubted whether even the excavation of the outer perimeter (incomplete, because it involves the adjoining building) will throw much fresh light on the problem. The restoration given in fig. 8 assumes (as seems likely enough from the relative dimensions of the internal orders) that the inner gable of the apse cleared the roof of the main hall; but it is clearly hypothetical in detail. It also assumes that the rectangular plan at ground level was carried up to roof-height, thereby avoiding awkward complications at the two outer angles.[12]

The Vestibule. Of the three elements composing the Basilica, the most ruinous is the Vestibule. All that can now be seen above pavement-level is a short stretch of the wall that divided it from the basilical hall, enough to show that it was substantially a counterpart of the corresponding wall at the other end, with a large central door and responding pilasters for the nave colonnades and, presumably, smaller doors opening into the lateral aisles. For the rest, we have only a few random blocks and the platform on which it stood, and even this was considerably modified in late antiquity and has since been largely stripped to below pavement-level.

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[12] An alternative solution, with a rounded external profile and somewhat lower roof, is suggested in the model that was prepared for the Mostra della Romanità of 1938 (pl. XXVII, *c*). There are several details of this model that require correction, e.g. the flat roof of the porticoes, the uniform pavement-level within the porches, the omission of pilasters from the facade on either side of the porches, and their inclusion in the outer south-east wall, opposite the ends of the basilica colonnades. The windows in this model are hypothetical; the clerestory lighting (if any) was probably far more widely spaced.

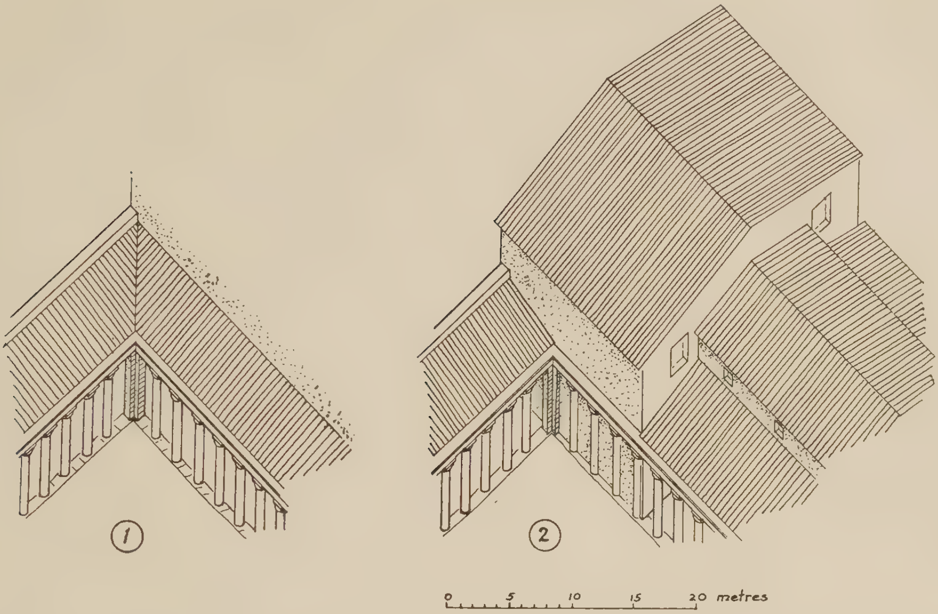

Fig. 8. Conjectural Restoration of the North Corner of the Quadriporticus, Before and After the Building of the Basilica

On two sides the Vestibule was bounded by the outer wall of the whole monument; towards the north-west by the wall that separated it from the basilical hall; and towards the south-west almost certainly by a stone arch carrying the line of the north-east colonnade of the Quadriporticus across the end of the south-east portico, the symmetrical counterpart of that for which the socket can still be seen in the surviving northern angle-pier of the same colonnade. The presence of this arch, the original function of which will be considered below, meant that, although the Vestibule was entered from and prolonged the line of the south-east portico, it was architecturally distinct; and it would certainly have helped to mask the fact that the dividing wall between the Vestibule and the basilical hall was set quite substantially off the line of the corresponding colonnade of the Quadriporticus.

Above pavement-level the space so delimited may have been a simple corridor. Alternatively, the transverse wall of which there are the remains, on a line that corresponds roughly with that of the south-west nave-colonnade, may belong to the original construction of the basilica; and in that case one may perhaps infer the former existence of a similar partition (removed when the cistern was inserted) on the line of the north-east colonnade, giving a symmetrical, tripartite lay-out; this would accord well with the suggestion (p. 189) of an entrance directly from the street, cut through the outer platform when the basilica was built. This can, however, be no more than conjecture. What is certain is that below the pavement of the Vestibule, belonging to an earlier phase of the building's history, there are three transverse footings, dividing it into three unequal compartments. It was the examination of these partitions that formed the principal object of the supplementary excavations undertaken in 1955. These excavations are described in detail on pp. 186–192; it will only be necessary here to present the main conclusions.

Rather more than half of the space beneath the floor of the corridor (fig. 18) is now occupied by a cistern, measuring 11.80 × 4.50 m., and occupying the whole of the eastern angle of the building. It is waterproofed internally, and it was covered with a barrel vault built of pitched bricks in the manner characteristic of Roman and Byzantine vaulting in the eastern half of the Empire, including Egypt, from late antiquity onwards.[13] There are two windows cut through the masonry of the outer wall near the eastern angle; these must be even later than the cistern. There was also a door-like opening cut through the outer south-east wall, up against the south-west partition wall; this was not part of the original building, although it antedates the cistern and was blocked and waterproofed when the cistern was built. At the western angle there was an inlet duct. This cistern, the vault of which, when complete, would have risen well above the floor-level of the Vestibule, is patently a late feature, although it incorporates at least one element, the blocked opening in the south-eastern wall, that calls for explanation in the context of the Basilica.

The rest of the platform beneath the Vestibule was divided into two almost equal compartments by a cross-wall (I), approximately on the line of the south-west colonnade of the basilical hall, with a slight displacement towards the south-west. A second cross-wall (II) divided the second compartment from the cistern beyond, on a line that falls just short of the central axis of the basilical hall. The relationships of these two cross-walls to the perimeter wall of the main platform and to the footings of the south-eastern wall of the basilical hall ('the Screen Wall') are instructive, and may be summarised as follows:

(i) The massive footings for the Screen Wall are unquestionably secondary to those against which they abut at either end (Trench 1, and exposed within the late cistern), i.e. secondary both to the outer north-east wall of the main platform and to the footings of the Quadriporticus colonnades.

(ii) Cross-wall I is built up against and structurally secondary to the outer south-east wall of the main platform, i.e. though not necessarily later, it is structurally independent and cannot, for example, be regarded as an original return of the outer wall (Trench 4). It is, on the other hand, certainly earlier than the Screen Wall, which partly incorporates and is partly trenched into it (Trenches 2 and 3). On clearance, this cross-wall proved to be the footings for an earlier colonnade, dismantled before the Basilica was built; a few blocks in position on top of the dismantled remains belong to a later wall using the earlier footings. The columns of this earlier colonnade measured approximately 70 cm. in diameter at the base and were placed 1.85 m. apart, from centre to centre. They appear to have run the complete length of the building, since the same distinctive footings were picked up at two other widely separated points: in Trench 7,

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[13] The vaulting is of the type illustrated and discussed by Ward Perkins in D. Talbot Rice (ed.), *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, vol. II, 1958, pp. 58–61.

5 m. north-west of the Screen Wall; and in the angle between the wall dividing the basilical hall from the apse and the south-west basilica stylobate (Trench 8).

(iii) Cross-wall II also is earlier than the Screen Wall (Trench 6), but, unlike cross-wall I, it is bonded into and of one build with the outer south-east wall of the main platform (Trench 5). It is, however, less massively constructed than the outer wall and, despite the straight joint cut through the latter on a line corresponding to the outer face of the cross-wall, it is impossible to regard it as the outer wall of an original platform that was only later enlarged towards the north-east. It is, nevertheless, certainly a structural feature of the original building, a conclusion that is confirmed by the characteristically striated dressing of the inner face of the top surviving course (pl. XXXVI, *c*), which would have been visible above the pavement-level indicated by the colonnade that stood on Cross-wall I. Further research is hampered by the waterproof rendering of the cistern against its outer face and by the welter of later buildings along the line of a possible extension of this wall along the axis of the basilical hall. A trial trench a short distance to the north-west of the Screen Wall proved inconclusive.

These results confirm what is already abundantly clear from a study of the superficial remains, namely that the Basilica is no part of the original structure, but an afterthought, added to or inserted within it. Sjöqvist,[14] noting the approximate correspondence between the width of its south-west aisle and that of the other porticoes, was led to suggest that the monument consisted originally of the Quadriporticus alone, the north-east side being bounded by a portico identical with those on the other three sides. This can now be seen to be mistaken. There was indeed a portico along the north-east side, but the back wall of it was not the outer wall of the building, but a colonnade opening on to further structures beyond. Moreover, the fact that in the original plan the line of the north-east colonnade of the Quadriporticus was carried on arches across the ends of the adjoining porticoes[15] shows that the north-east portico was felt to belong architecturally as much to the building behind it as to the Quadriporticus itself. The conclusion from these facts is that the Basilica replaced an earlier colonnaded building. In the context, such a building can hardly have been other than some form of multiple stoa.

(*c*) *The Temple*

The Temple, a small building, tetrastyle *in antis* with a substantial podium and steps across the front, stood on the long axis of the Quadriporticus, opposite the south-east side. These positions, it should be remarked, are approximate only; in fact, the building is not aligned exactly either on the axis or on the porch; and it

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[14] *Op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 101.

[15] The socket for such an arch can be seen in the north-west face of the north angle-pier; the north-east face is plain, i.e. there was no arch in this direction. At the corresponding point towards the east, neither the outer south-east wall, nor the east angle-pier of the colonnade is preserved to a sufficient height; but one may presume a symmetrical arrangement.

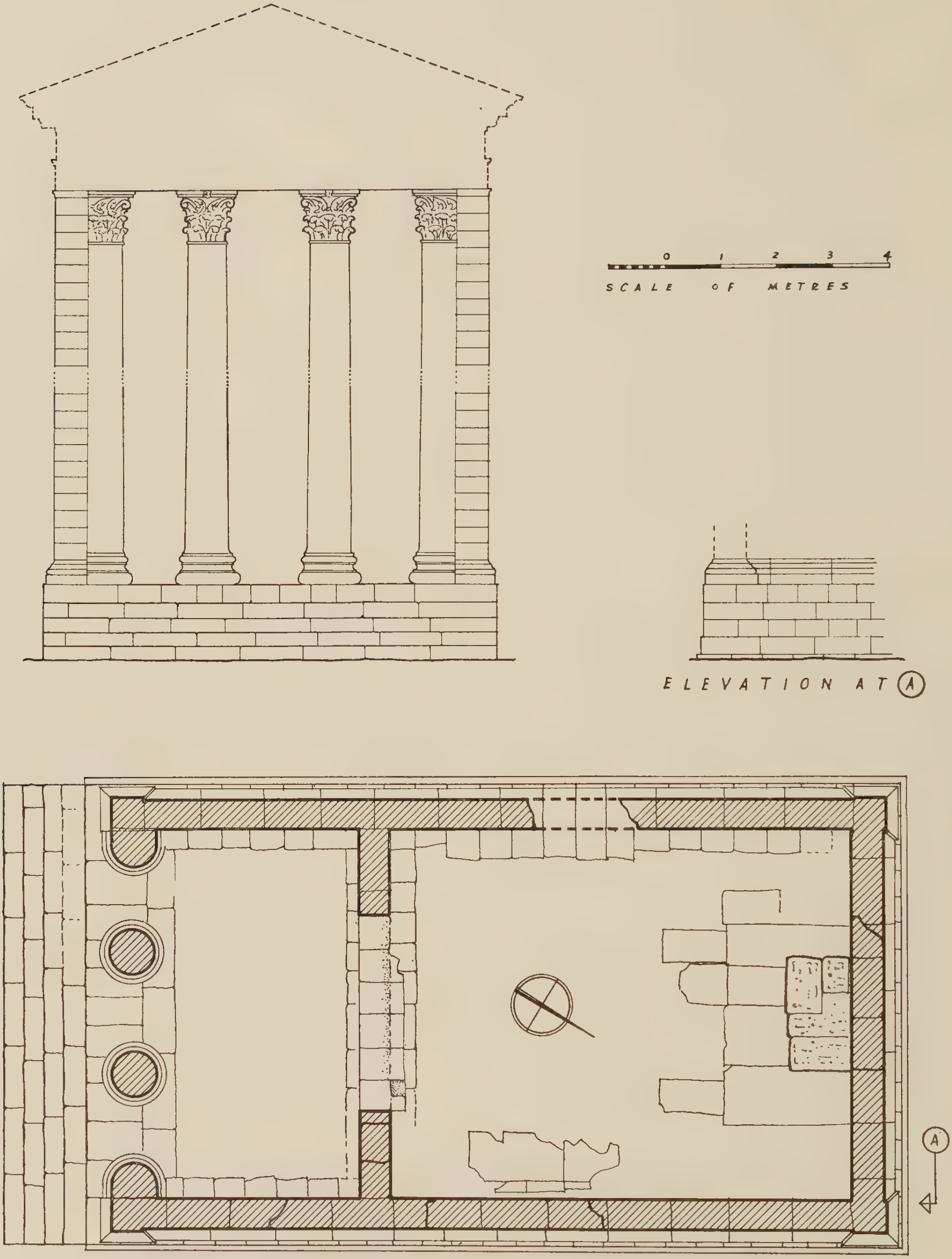
0 1 2 3 4
SCALE OF METRES
ELEVATION AT A
A

Fig. 9. The Temple: Plan and Schematic Restoration of the Façade
(Note: there is no direct evidence for the height of this building; the entablature, shown in outline, is one of conventional proportions, not that which now lies beside the building)

appears to stand in no planned relationship whatsoever to the south-western porch. It is possible that the interior of the cella was respected when the monument was transformed into a barracks in late antiquity, since much of the statuary was found intact within it by Smith and Porcher in 1860–1861.[16] All that now survives, however, is the podium, the steps, and the base of the cella walls, together with some loose blocks from the destroyed superstructure (pl. XXXIII, *a*).

The podium is a plain rectangular structure, consisting of three vertical courses resting on two that are stepped very slightly outwards, a total height of 1.19 m. from the top of the lower stepped course to platform level; it measures 14.58 × 8.26 m., with a core of earth and rubble. The masonry is laid in regular courses of 29.5–30 cm., in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, but without any regular bond; it is claw-dressed to a uniform surface, without drafting. There is no differentiation between front and sides, since the four lower steps were built clear, over a fill of earth, the edge of the platform constituting a fifth and topmost step.

The superstructure is nowhere standing more than two courses high, but the lowest course, with a spreading base-moulding, is virtually intact. The exterior seems to have been quite plain, with simple pilasters, 62 cm. wide, at the four angles and, *in antis*, across the façade, two Corinthian columns and two half-columns; the base-mouldings of the latter are simply butted against those of the angle pilasters along a vertical line. The pronaos, 4.40 m. deep, has a floor of *opus signinum* and was evidently converted to other use in late antiquity; and either then or later the complete frame of the doorway into the cella has been torn out, door-sill and all; it may well have been of marble. The cella is a simple rectangular room, 8.20 × 6.60 m. internally, with a rectangular platform of masonry projecting from the rear wall, and considerable remains both of marble paving and of marble veneer. The platform itself is quite small (1.15 × 2.06 m.) but stands on larger footings (2.15 × 3.50 m.), which were later further enlarged to right and left; together, those features no doubt served to carry the statuary recovered by Smith and Porcher, the principal pieces of which were a large marble statue of Dionysus and a carved stone figure of a panther with a collar of ivy leaves, both now in the British Museum.[17]

Lying around the temple, presumably found when the adjoining area was cleared of the late barrack-buildings and still later hovels which filled the whole area of the Quadriporticus, are a number of blocks from an entablature cut in two courses, the lower containing an orthodox Doric triglyph frieze and architrave, the upper an elaborate console cornice, with rounded consoles (fig. 10). Whether or not these blocks are those of the original temple-entablature (and on any orthodox interpretation of the classical orders the scale of the detail presents certain difficulties; see Appendix II, pp. 192–4), there can be little doubt that the building incorporated a mixture of the Doric and Corinthian orders, the main exterior order being Doric (or Doric with Corinthian elements), whereas the whole of the central part of the façade, between the *antae*, was certainly Corinthian.

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[16] R. Murdoch Smith and E. A. Porcher, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, 1864, pp. 39–40.

[17] *ibid.*, p. 106. *British Museum Catal. Sculpture*, ii, 1900, nos. 1476, 1488.

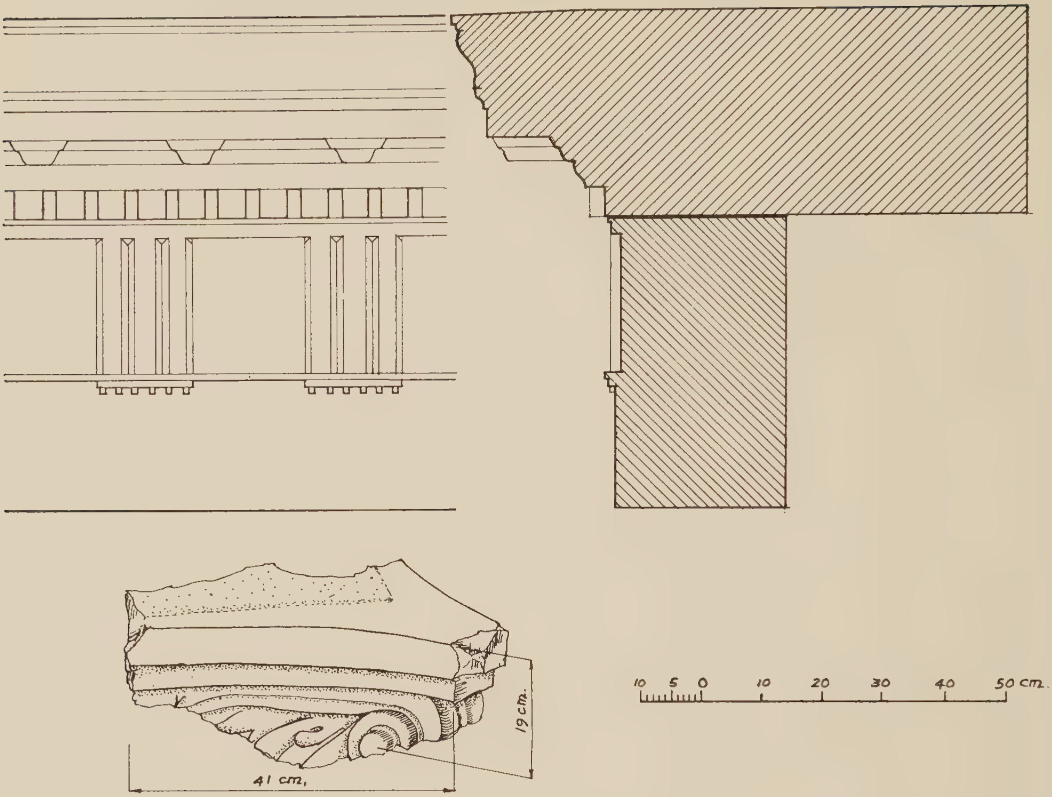

Fig. 10. Mixed Entablature and One of Several Fragments of Corinthian Capitals Found Near the Temple

As a later addition to the Caesareum complex (see below, p. 167; also Appendix II), there is no need to assume that the temple was directly associated with the Imperial cult, for which there was already in the second century ample provision within the apse of the basilica. Secondary shrines were a not uncommon feature of large monumental enclosures (cf. the temples of Juppiter Stator and Juno Regina in the Porticus Octaviae), and there is evidence (p. 176) that the Kaisareion at Alexandria incorporated at least one secondary shrine, dedicated to Venus. There does not seem to be any particular reason to doubt that the statue of Dionysus found within the ruins is the original second-century cult statue.

(*d*) *The Inscriptions*

The inscriptions from the Caesareum and Basilica give a fragment of a dedication, the name of the complex, and documentation for three and possibly a further two stages in its building history.[18]

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[18] I have to acknowledge with gratitude the help of Mr. R. G. Goodchild and Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins; and of all those whom I have pestered in Oxford and in Cambridge, especially Dr. S. Weinstock and Mr. A. G. Woodhead. J.M.R.

(1) Traces of a dedication cut in monumental letters can be seen on the architrave of the south-west external wall, at the west end. Three blocks survive more or less complete,[19] giving the opening words:

[Υ]Π̣Ε̣ΡΡΩΜ̣ΑΣ[. . . [ὑ]π̣ὲ̣ρ ‘Ρώμ̣ας [. . .

The eight blocks immediately to the right are lost or very badly damaged: thereafter the blocks survive and are uninscribed. The text seems therefore to have been short—not more than 28 letters in all and possibly less; the difficulty of reconstructing it adequately within this limit and the curious asymmetry of ornament that it imposes on one of the main façades of the building might suggest that it may once have continued in a balancing inscription at the south corner, but the blocks that survive here are certainly not inscribed. Conceivably they are not original but insertions made during one of the major restorations; and it must in any case be remembered that the whole wall was found fallen and has been restored since excavation.

It is hard to believe that ‘Ρώμ can refer to anything but the city of Rome, and it is perhaps relevant to recall the statement of Malalas,[20] that Caesar erected στήλην χαλκῆν τῇ τύχῃ ‘Ρώμης in the Caesareum that he built at Antioch. For the further content of our text some guidance is given by the Gytheum decree[21] in which it is laid down ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Καισάρηον ἡ πομπὴ παραγένηται θυέτωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦ[ρ]ον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ θεῶν σωτηρίας καὶ ἀϊδίου τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν διαμονῆς . . . ; and from the inscription recording the Flavian restoration of the Augusteum at Ephesus,[22] where the opening formula runs ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος (κτλ) ὑγιήας καὶ διαμονῆς τῆς Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. On the basis of these analogies it seems probable that the intention was to dedicate the building ὑπὲρ ‘Ρώμας ἡγεμονίας καὶ Σεβαστῶ Καίσαρος σωτηρίας or something similar. If in fact the whole inscription was compressed into the space of the eight available blocks at the west end it must have read something like: ὑπὲρ ‘Ρώμας αἰωνίας διαμονᾶς or ὑπὲρ ‘Ρώμας καὶ Σεβαστῶ διαμονᾶς.

The date can only be inferred from the letter-forms. The Π and Ω are distinctive and hardly later than the Flavian period. They are perhaps Augustan, but there is not enough comparable material of this date at Cyrene to justify much assurance on the point. The inscription may then be contemporary with that of the South-west Porch (II*b*, below); but it could be earlier and if so it is the earliest surviving in the building, even maybe the original dedication. The earlier date would accord better than a later one with the association of Rome and the emperor proposed above.

II. The earliest inscriptions that can be more or less precisely dated are two cut on the architraves of the south-west and south-east Porches in the later years of Augustus or very early in the reign of Tiberius. Both record restorations to the building; and the first of them also gives its name.

(*a*) The larger of the two is on the south-east Porch and appeared on the internal as well as on the external architrave (pl. XXXI, *b* and *c*). Parts of inscribed blocks from both architraves survive, and some of them, which have been visible for many years, were seen by several early travellers in Cyrenaica, who read letters on them that have now perished.[23] By conflation of the evidence of surviving stones from both architraves and of the recorded readings of the travellers the following reconstruction of the text may be proposed:

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[19] The blocks were discovered before the war by Italian excavators, who restored them, in what may reasonably be taken to be their original positions, where they are inaccessible to close examination.

[20] 216.17 (see below, p. 177).

[21] *SEG*, xi, 923, 28 ff.

[22] Ditt. *Syll.*³, 818.

C̣(aius) Rubeḷḷiu[s] Ḅḷạṇ[dus] proco(n)s(ul) porticus C[aes]ạṛ[ei reficiendas
curauit et dedicauit]
u. [. . . *c.* 6 . . .]ius M(arci) f(ilius) Pacilaeus leg(atus) p[ro praetore]

The name of the building—*porticus Caesarei*—was seen complete by Della Cella in 1817[24] and by Pacho in 1826.[25] The initial R of the following word—which is the basis for regarding the text as a record of restoration—was seen by Pacho.

The proconsul should probably be identified with C. Rubellius Blandus (PW IA, col. 1158 f., no. 5) whose suffect consulate in A.D. 18 then provides a *terminus ante quem.* The proconsulate of Crete and Cyrene is not mentioned in his *cursus honorum* either at Tivoli or at Lepcis Magna[26] and for this reason Professor Guarducci, in discussing an inscription from Crete in which his name occurs, rejected the identification proposed here.[27] Its absence, however, might be explained by its comparative insignificance in the career of a man who had become the emperor's grandson-in-law.

The legate is otherwise unknown.

The text makes it very clear that the maintenance of the building was treated as a matter of imperial responsibility.

(*b*) The text cut on the external architrave of the south-west Porch survives complete (Pl. XXXI, *a*).[28]

M(arcus) Sufenas Proculus ref(iciendum) cur(auit)

M. Sufenas Proculus is known from three other Cyrenaean inscriptions—on the lintel above the entrance to the Strategeion,[29] on the base of a statue of Tiberius in the Strategeion,[30] and on a base in honour of Tiberius in the Agora[31]—all of which are to be dated in the last decade of Augustus. In none of these inscriptions is there a clear indication of the capacity in which he was acting, but in the Agora text he is probably described as *praefectus cohortis Lusitanorum.*[32] As Romanelli has suggested, the unit is likely to be identical with that known in A.D. 99 as *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, the adjective implying that it had previously been stationed in Cyrenaica.[33] It seems possible then that M. Sufenas Proculus was commander of the garrison at

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[23] *CIL*, iii, 10 (see also Sjöqvist, *loc. cit.*, 99, wrongly). A further block was discovered before the war by Italian excavators, who restored it in its original position, where it is inaccessible to close examination.

[24] Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli di Barberia alle frontiere occidentali di Egitto*, Genua, 1819, p. 141.

[25] Pacho, *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaique et les Oases d'Audjelah et de Maradia*, Paris, 1827, p. 219, Pl. LXIII.

[26] *CIL*, xiv, 3576; *IRT*, 330, 331.

[27] *Inscr. Cret.*, iv, p. 328, no. 293.

[28] Sjöqvist, *loc. cit.*, has mistakenly printed an inscription from the Strategeion as that from the Caesareum. It is only the Strategeion text that is cut on an erased surface so that Sjöqvist's argument from the erasure to the earlier existence of the Caesareum is invalid. But the inscription in the Caesareum does prove the earlier existence of that building since it records its restoration.

[29] G. Oliverio, *Afr. Ital.*, iii, 1930, p. 198, f.

[30] L. Polacco, *Il Volto di Tiberio*, Roma, 1955, p. 55.

[31] Unpublished.

[32] The edges have been cut away and the word *praefectus* is lost.

[33] P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana*, Verbania, 1943, p. 192.

Cyrene and perhaps that he exercised some authority in civil affairs there when the governor was in Crete. Certainly if his operations in the Caesareum were official it would be easier to understand their relation with those of the proconsul recorded on the south-east Porch. They must be so close in time that they should be part of a single scheme. Their connection is further indicated by a small detail in the cutting of the two inscriptions. On the south-west Porch the cutter has used an *ampulla* as a stop—a device that also occurs in the inscription on the external architrave of the Temple of Zeus at Cyrene (see p. 38) and, so far as is known, nowhere else in the city. On the external inscription of the south-east Porch there is a stop in the form of a small cup, for which there is no parallel at all in the city except the two *ampullae*. It suggests that the workmen employed on the two Porches, and on the external architrave of the Temple of Zeus, were of the same workshop, if they were not actually the same men.

III. Another stage in the development of the building, probably still of first-century date, was recorded in an erased inscription, traces of which are visible through the Hadrianic text cut on the fallen entablature of the north internal colonnade of the Basilica (see IV*b*, below). A number of isolated uprights and serifs can be seen but only two groups of recognisable letters:

(*a*) ỊGẸ and (*b*) SỊLỊ

The blocks of the entablature must have remained in their original positions when a new text was cut on them in the reign of Hadrian; so that it is possible to calculate roughly the relation of the two letter groups of the older inscription to the whole space available for the text, from the position of their blocks in the Hadrianic period. Fragment (*b*) underlies the word *basilicam* in the Hadrianic inscription, which strongly suggests that the older inscription recorded, if not the original construction of the Basilica, at least a very substantial repair to it. Fragment (*a*) underlies part of the titles of Hadrian and presumably therefore is part of the titles of the reigning emperor when it was cut. He was probably Nero, since Nero's are the only earlier titles in which the name Germanicus is normally preceded by a letter that incorporates an upright stroke—he was *diui Claudi fil(ius) Germanici Caesaris nepos*. He is known to have been active in Cyrenaica, and a number of inscriptions in his honour suggest that he was popular there.[34]

Not enough of the text of this erased inscription remains to justify a restoration.

IV. A pair of inscriptions shows that the Caesareum received extensive damage in the Jewish Revolt of A.D. 115 and was repaired in the following years by Hadrian.

(*a*) A text was cut, perhaps in duplicate, on wall blocks of which three survive in reasonably good condition, together with a number of fragments.[35] Of the three reasonably complete blocks one was re-used in late antiquity in a door-jamb of the south-east Porch of the Caesareum; the other two were discovered in 1956 re-used in the late fourth or fifth century to block the doorway of an earlier building beside the Main (Valley) Street of the city. Despite this dispersion and the difficulty of deciding where the inscribed blocks were originally placed, there can be little doubt that the inscription was designed for the Caesareum. The letters TOKAI in l.4 strongly favour the restoration *τὸ καισάρειον*; *τὸ καπετώλιον* is a theoretically possible alternative, but if the Capitolium was rightly identified by Ghislanzoni[36] the blocks cannot have belonged to it. There are four lines of text.

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[34] E.g. *SEG*, ix, 75, 99.

[35] A reconstruction based on one block and a fragment was published by S. Applebaum, *JRS* xl, 1950, p. 90 (the Latin text also in *AE*, 1951, no. 123). Various minor corrections can be made in the light of the more recent discoveries. It is to be noted that the ordinator did not attempt to secure a symmetrical effect at the line ends—ll.1 and 4 especially extend well to the right of the rest. The letters are not monumental in size, although they are well shaped and cut; presumably the text stood near eye-level.

There are also three very similar fragments, two in Greek and one in Latin, probably giving parts of Hadrian's name and titles and possibly from a second copy: the Latin fragment has a moulding above.

[Imp. Caesar d]iui Tr[aiani Parthici fil]ius diụ[i Nerua]ẹ ṇepos T[raianus
Hadrianus Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. II cos II]
[ciuitati Cy]ṛenensium [Caesareu]ṃ tumul[tu Iudaic]o dirutum ẹṭ ẹ[xustum
restitui iussit] *u.*

*[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ θ[εοῦ Τραιανοῦ Π]αρθικ[οῦ υἱός] θεοῦ Νέρου[α υἱωνός Τραιανὸς
ʽΑδριανὸς Σεβαστός ἀρχ]ιερεὺς u.*
*[μέγιστος] δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσία]ς τὸ β′ [ὕπατος τὸ β′ τ]ῆ πόλει τὸ και̣[σάρειον ἐν τῶι
᾿Ιουδαικῶι ταράχωι κατεστραμμένον κα]τασταθῆναι ἐκέλευσ[εν]*

The date (118) indicates the speed with which the Hadrianic repairs of the building were put in hand; and thus, obviously, its importance in the eyes of the imperial administrators.

(*b*) A new text was also cut over an erased earlier text (III, above), on the architrave of the north internal colonnade of the Basilica.[37] Fragments only survive, from which the following partial restoration is possible:

[Imp. Caes. diui Traiani Parthici filius diui Neru]ae nep[os] Traia[n]us H[adrianus]
Augu[stus pont. max. tribuni]c. p[otest. ? cos I]II basilic[am . . .

The date cannot be earlier than 1 January 119, when Hadrian held his third consulate, but it is perhaps unlikely that there was a long gap in time between the completion of the work of restoration in the Portico of the Caesareum (IV*a*) and of that in the Basilica.

V. There are two other fragmentary texts relevant to the building history of the Basilica.

(*a*) The first is cut on a large block of grey limestone lying loose in the apse of the basilica:

. . .]proco(n)s(ul-)[. . .

This is clearly part of a building inscription—the letters are monumental in style, and perhaps of the first century A.D.; but since the block on which they are cut has been re-used, there is no certainty that it belonged originally in the Caesareum complex. For its secondary use, a triangular pedimental feature was cut in relief on one of the uninscribed faces, and it probably stood above one of the niches in the wall of the Hadrianic apse. These niches contained statues which were found in position by the Italian excavators.

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[36] E. Ghislanzoni, *Notiz. Arch.*, ii, 1916, p. 207.

[37] Published, but not quite correctly, by S. Applebaum, *loc. cit.*, p. 89. E. M. Smallwood, *JRS*, xlii, 1952, p. 37, pointed out that the superscript bar above the figure giving Hadrian's consulate extended well to the left of the first surviving stroke, obviously in order to cover a preceding one.

(*b*) The end of a lettered panel in the mosaic floor of the apse of the Basilica contains part of a word, which could be read as . . .]*ε̣μ̣ις* or as . . .]*ε̣α̣λ̣ις* or . . .]*σ̣α̣λ̣ις*.

It might be restored as . . . *θ*]*έ̣μ̣ις* with some suitability if the building was used for the administration of justice; and it is perhaps worth noting that in the niche in the wall immediately above the panel there was found the lower part of a statue of a female figure accompanied by a winged creature, presumably Nemesis with a gryphon.[38]

On the alternative readings, the letters could be interpreted as part of a proper name (e.g. *Κερ*]*έ̣α̣λ̣ις*), no doubt that of a person in some way responsible for the work.

The style of the mosaic seems post-Hadrianic, but earlier than the Byzantine reconstruction of the building; and should perhaps be taken as evidence for a re-decoration in the third or fourth centuries.[39]

VI. Finally there are three inscriptions from monuments within the complex, all in honour of Hadrian.

(*a*) On a moulded marble base now standing in the apse of the Basilica:[40]

Imp(eratori) Caesari
diui Traiani Parth
ici filio diui Neruae
nepoti Traiano
Hadriano Aug(usto) pontif(ici)
max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II co(n)s(uli) II
ciuitas Cyrenensium
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι
θεῶ Τραιανῶι Παρ
θικῶι υἱῶι Νέρουα
υἱωνῶ Τραιανῶ
Ἁδριανῶι.

The date is between January and December 118, a little earlier than the Hadrianic inscription from the Basilica architrave; and it is possible therefore that the base did not originally stand in the Basilica.

(*b*) On a limestone panel of which only the upper left-hand corner now survives:[41]

Imp(erator) Ca[esar diui]
Traiani P[arthici fil(ius)]
diui Neru[ae nepos]
Traianus [Hadrianus]
[Aug(ustus) . . .

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[38] For help with this identification I am indebted to Miss Evelyn Harrison.

[39] So R. G. Goodchild (in a letter).

[40] *AE*, 1946, no. 177.

[41] S. Applebaum, *loc. cit.*, p. 89.

(*c*) On a marble panel of which four fragments are known, the fourth (from the right end) now lost and read from a photograph in the Cyrene archive:[42]

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα θεῶ Τραιανῶ Π̣αρθ̣[ι]κῶ υ[ἱόν]
[θεῶ Νέρουα υἱων]όν Τραιανὸν Ἁδριανὸν Σ[ε]βασ[τόν]
[ἀρχιερῆ μέγιστον] δαμαρχικᾶς ἐξουσίας τὸ Ι̣[·] ὕπα[τον]
[τὸ γ' πατέρα πατρί]δος κτίσταν καὶ τροφ[· · c.4 · ·] νομο[· ·]
[?u. ἁ πόλ]ις ἁ Κυραναίων u.

The date should be in or after 128 when Hadrian received formally the title *pater patriae*. The precise number of his tribunician years given in 1.3 cannot be recovered although it must be at least ιβ', the figure for 128: there was a superscript bar above the figure, beginning well to the right of the surviving stroke indicating that there were in fact two figures—I + ? or K + ?.

The restoration of 1.4 presents difficulties. τροφέα τοῦ νομοῦ, with νομός used in the sense of province, seems a possibility, although not a particularly convincing one. The surviving letters are absolutely clear and rule out a reference to τροφῆς διανομή or to Hadrian as διανομεύς; while διάνομος, which would fit, does not appear to be attested in the sense needed here.

It is remarkable that with the probable exception of the mosaic in the Basilica apse (V*b*) no inscription of a date later than the reign of Hadrian has been found in the complex.

J. M. Reynolds

(*e*) *The dates of the successive buildings*

Before attempting to interpret the evidence of the inscriptions for the date of the several surviving structures, it is necessary briefly to consider what, if any, conclusions can be drawn from a study of the buildings themselves.

In the first place it is clear that, in the form in which the monument has been preserved and partially restored, it no longer represents in full the original intention of its builders. Except for some relatively unimportant changes to the inner facade of the south-east porch, there are no obvious modifications to the surviving parts of the outer perimeter wall or to the Quadriporticus. The basilica, on the other hand is not an original feature; it replaces an earlier building, many features of which still await elucidation, but of which the remains explored in 1956 suggest some form of stoa, with at least one internal colonnade. The small central temple is an independent structure, the date of which has to be determined on its own merits. In late antiquity the whole of the interior underwent a radical rebuilding, the effects of which have been largely, though not entirely, eliminated by the restorations undertaken since excavation, which present the building substantially as it appeared after the construction of the basilica and of the temple.

To what extent do the architectural forms enable us to establish the date of the original building? The architects of Cyrene seem to have been very conservative in their tastes. The Doric order in a (for its period) remarkably pure form continued to predominate until well on into the imperial age. It is not really until the reconstruction of the city after the Jewish Revolt that we find it replaced on any extensive scale by Corinthian, and even then many of the more venerable monuments were reconstructed in a rather coarsened version of the old style. No doubt a detailed survey of the late Hellenistic and early Imperial monuments (such as has yet to be undertaken) will yield criteria for distinguishing the work of successive phases within this old-fashioned but still remarkably vital Doric school. For the present, however, there can be very little hope of establishing the date of the Caesareum from a study of its architectural detail alone. In this respect it is, rather, the Caesareum itself which must furnish a touchstone for the other monuments.

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[42] *ibid.*, p. 88, gives a reconstruction based on three fragments only.

A more immediately promising line of approach is offered by the very distinctive masonry of the outer face of the platform and of the perimeter wall. For this there are several close parallels to be seen elsewhere in Cyrene. One which is very close indeed, but which is unfortunately not dated, is in a platform that projects from the north-eastern slopes of the Acropolis hill, not far from the House of the Dionysus Mosaic. This (fig. 11, *a*) consists of carefully dressed pseudo-isodomic masonry, in alternate courses of headers and stretches, the courses being 45–48 cm. high and the individual blocks 1.28–1.30 m. long; the exposed faces are neatly striated obliquely with a fine-toothed punch, with a 4–5 cm. drafting at the joints. A similar bond is to be seen in the outer (north-east) substructures of the double stoa that forms the north-east boundary of the Agora (fig. 11, *b*; average height of courses, 52 cm.; individual stretcher blocks, 1.34–1.35 m.). In this case the wall-surface was masked by projecting tabernae, built up against it at a lower level, and the blocks are more roughly dressed, a coarse, oblique striation without any drafting, resembling that of the inner face of the Caesareum perimeter wall. A third, and in many respects even closer, parallel is offered by the walls of the Acropolis, immediately to the north of the gate that marks the crest of the ridge, facing towards the Agora (fig. 11, *c*). As in the Caesareum, the wall proper is dressed smooth, whereas the blocks of the projecting (5.5 cm.) plinth are drafted and obliquely striated with a fine-toothed punch. The principal difference is that wall and plinth alike (instead of only the wall, as in the Caesareum) are built of true isodomic masonry, in 40–43 cm. courses, the individual blocks being unusually elongated and a very constant 1.75 m. in length. The reconstruction of this stretch of wall, facing towards the city, is recorded in an inscription of which scattered blocks are preserved by the gate. The dedicating proconsul, Q. Lucanius Proculus, does not seem to be recorded elsewhere in any datable context; but the form of Augustus's titles shows that the inscription recording the work was cut after 12 B.C.[42a]

These examples, though not in themselves sufficient to establish an exact date for the building of the Caesareum, do at any rate confirm the evidence of the inscriptions that this is to be sought somewhere within, or very near to, the lifetime of Augustus. The inscriptions themselves afford an approximate *terminus ante quem* within the second decade of the first century A.D.; indeed, since that of the south-west porch refers already to a restoration, it seems very unlikely that the original building can have been put up later than the first half of the Augustus's reign.

[42a] G. Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell' Africa Italiana*, i (*Cirenaica*), 1933, pp. 181–182, no. 54. I owe this reference to Miss J. M. Reynolds.

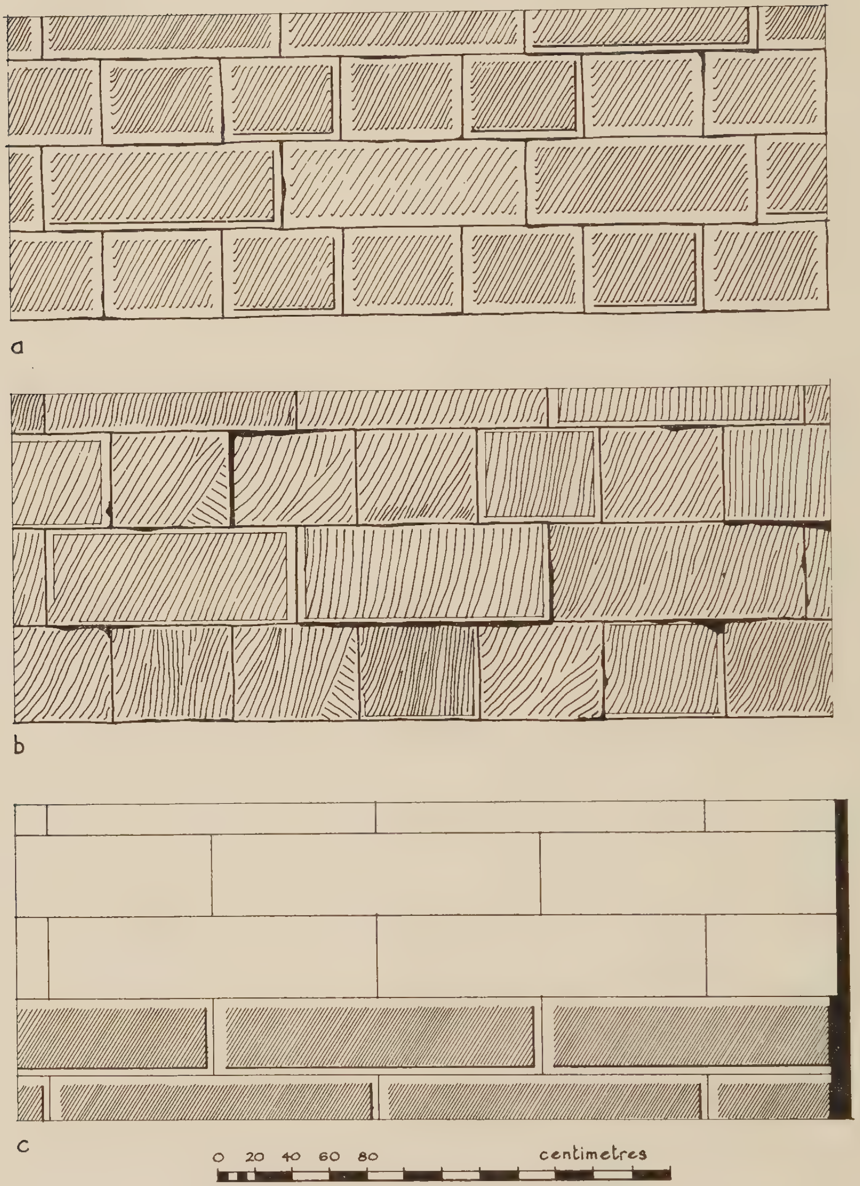
a
b
c
0 20 40 60 80
centimetres

Fig. 11. Augustan Masonry at Cyrene

(*a*) Unidentified Building Near the House of the Dionysus Mosaic
(*b*) Substructures of the Stoa beside the Agora
(*c*) The Acropolis Walls (Augustan Restoration, after 12 b.c.)

The scope and character of the work to which the two surviving porch inscriptions refer is problematic. They cannot be very far separated in date, and it is tempting to regard them both as recording stages of the same major undertaking, which could in that case hardly be other than the building of the basilica in place of the original stoa. Against this interpretation, however, may be set the epigraphic evidence, such as it is, for assigning the basilica to the reign of Nero, as well the laconic phraseology of the south-west porch inscription, which hardly suggests so substantial an undertaking; also the improbability of a major reorganisation having been put in hand within so short a time of the building's first construction. None of these arguments is decisive; but on balance they would seem to favour a rather later date. The exact date of the building of the basilica within the first century A.D. must, therefore, for the present remain an open question. It was certainly in existence at the beginning of the second century, and was restored by Hadrian after the Jewish Revolt.

It remains to discuss briefly the date of the temple (for a fuller discussion, see Appendix II, pp. 192–4). That it is contemporary with the original lay-out of the Caesareum, seems very doubtful indeed. The architectural detail and the masonry alike differ markedly from those of the Quadriporticus, and its position, slightly off-axis, is very hard to reconcile with the meticulously careful planning to which the rest of the building bears witness. Once again we lack carefully studied comparative material. But in general terms it is certainly true to say that at Cyrene the tradition of fine isodomic masonry inherited from the Hellenistic Age disappears quite early in the Empire and is replaced by more rough and ready methods, using smaller blocks and irregular bonding. In terms of this tendency, to which the basilica itself bears witness, the temple would most naturally fall into place as a later addition to a pre-existing complex. The use of the Corinthian order points in the same direction. An elaborate version of this had already made its appearance in the domestic architecture of Cyrenaica under the early Empire, but does not seem to have made much headway in the somewhat conservative atmosphere of Cyrene itself, still less in its monumental architecture. Here, the datable series of Corinthian monuments begins with Hadrian or, possibly, with Trajan, in the bath-buildings at the east end of the Sacred Precinct, and with the restorations undertaken by Hadrian in the Upper City after the Jewish Revolt. By the end of the second century the use of the Corinthian order had become general, as Goodchild's recent excavations have shown; and since the temple in the Caesareum shows none of the other features characteristic of this later work, it is probably to be dated some time in the second century A.D., probably earlier in the century rather than later. It was in any case the latest substantial addition made to the complex before its transformation into a barrack-building in late antiquity.

J. B. WARD PERKINS

II. THE FORUM AND BASILICA AT CREMNA

The Augustan colony of Cremna occupies an almost impregnable position in the Pisidian mountains a few miles to the east of the Turkish town of Bucak. It was visited in 1885 by Sterrett, who recorded some inscriptions, including parts of the dedicatory inscription of the Forum (see below). A few years later the Lanckoronski Expedition made a general survey of the site but were unable to devote much time to the individual buildings.[43] The following description of the Forum Complex is the result of a two-day visit to the site in the autumn of 1956.

The site of Cremna is on a spur commanding a wide view over the Cestrus Valley. It is roughly triangular in shape, with the apex towards the east, and is protected by cliffs on all sides except the west, where a flat saddle joins the spur to the main mass of the mountain behind. On this side there are extensive remains of a strong wall of limestone blocks, protected on the outside by a natural gulley.

The layout of the city was determined by the broken nature of the ground within the walls, and most of the public buildings are clustered together in two small valleys that meet just to the south of the geographical centre of the site. At the junction of the two lie the Forum and Basilica of Longus, flanked on the north by a great range of vaulted cisterns, on the east by the theatre and two buildings identified by the Lanckoronski Expedition as a stoa and a gymnasium, on the south by a large vaulted building of uncertain purpose, and on the west by a small *piazza* and the monumental termination of a colonnaded street (pl. XXXVII, *a*).

The site chosen was in general higher on the north and east than on the south and west, and considerable labour must have been expended in levelling it. Even so a large depression remained in the centre of the Forum (see below, p. 171).

The name and approximate date of the Forum Complex are fixed by an inscription (*CIL*, iii, 6874) which records the dedication, to the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) and to the Colony of Cremna, of a *basilica*, *forum* and *exhedra*, erected by a certain Longus (only the *cognomen* is preserved). The inscription appears to have run, in two lines, along the outer face of the east wall of the Forum, while a second copy, of which only a few fragments have been recorded, apparently occupied the architrave of the Forum colonnades. There are large gaps in the text, which also contains certain anomalies (see *CIL*, *ad loc.*), but these do not affect its meaning from the point of view of the student of the building.

The complex (fig. 12) consists of three distinct but closely interrelated parts, the Forum, the Basilica and the Exedra mentioned in the inscription. The Forum, which measures about 62 m. from east to west by 44 m. from north to south, was surrounded on all four sides by a Doric colonnade. The central area lies some 3 m. below the level of the colonnade paving (see below, p. 171). The north colonnade, in which the columns were more closely spaced than in the others, served also as the south aisle of the Basilica.

The Basilica, which measures about 55 m. by 19 m. internally, was divided into nave and aisles by two rows of rectangular piers carrying arches. It terminates at the east in a semicircular apse (for the possibility of this being a later addition, see p. 173), and on the west in a wall pierced by three arches giving access to a rectangular hall that must correspond to the exedra mentioned in the inscription.

The present state of the remains is such that without clearance and reconstruction on a large scale many points of detail are bound to remain in doubt. Only

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[43] J. R. S. Sterrett, "The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor," *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, iii, 1884–1885, pp. 319–326; K. Lanckoronski, G. Niemann and E. Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens*, vol. ii, 1892, pp. 161–172.

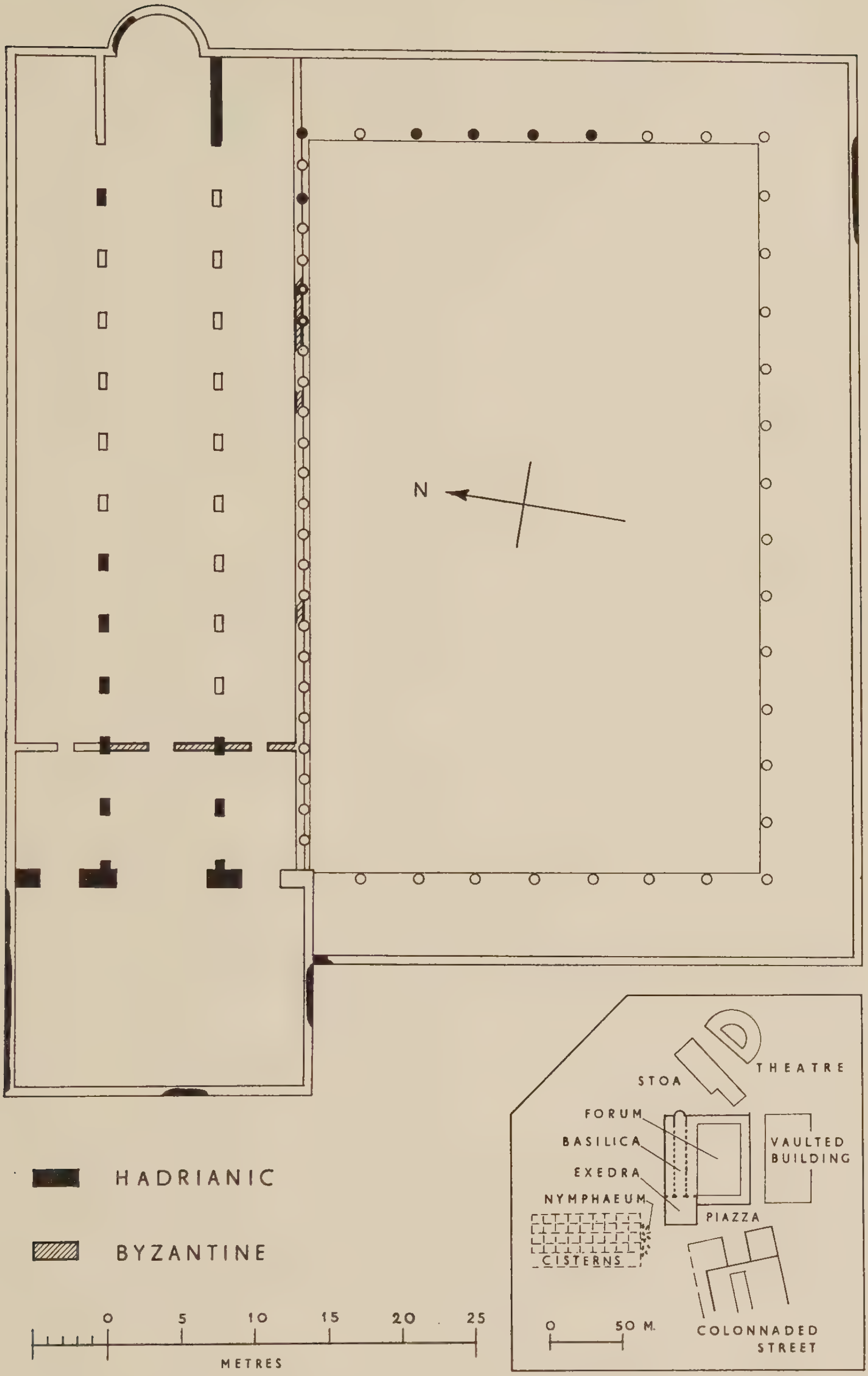
N
HADRIANIC
BYZANTINE
0
5
10
15
20
25
METRES
STOA
THEATRE
FORUM
BASILICA
EXEDRA
NYMPHAEUM
VAULTED BUILDING
PIAZZA
CISTERNS
0
50 M.
COLONNADED STREET

Fig. 12. The Forum and Basilica at Cremna, in Pisidia

here and there are intelligible stretches of wall visible through the tangle of scrub and fallen blocks. Fortunately, however, the site is too remote to have suffered badly from the attentions of modern stone-robbers, and little would seem to have been removed since the collapse of the buildings. In fact the north arcade of the Basilica lies as it fell, with the blocks badly cracked but still occupying substantially their original positions in relation to one another. The main lines of the plan, and in particular the interrelation of the Basilica, Forum and Exedra, which constitutes the principal interest of the layout, are clear; the problem is simplified by the fact that, apart from certain modifications to the Basilica, attributable to its conversion into a church (below, p. 173), the whole complex appears to be of one period.

The material throughout is a hard creamy-white limestone, in accurately cut blocks laid, apparently without mortar or cramps, in regular courses 0.58 m. high. The visible faces are well smoothed, and the mouldings are strongly profiled and cleanly cut without any attempt at great refinement.

The Forum. The direct evidence for the plan of the Forum can be summarised as follows:—

(*a*) A stretch of the outer face of the south wall, near the east end.

(*b*) A stub of wall projecting from the south wall of the Exedra; this is probably the north end of the west wall of the Forum.

(*c*) The position of the east wall is inferred from that of the apse of the Basilica.

(*d*) The stumps of five columns of the east colonnade, including the north-east corner column, with an average intercolumniation of 3.95 m. The width of the portico from the centre-line of the columns to the inner face of the wall was about 5 m.

(*e*) Of the south colonnade nothing is visible *in situ*; by assuming the length of the east colonnade to have been eight intercolumniations (i.e. 31.60 m. between the centres of the corner columns) we arrive at a width of about 6 m. for the south colonnade. This would mean that the columns stood just at the edge of the depression in the centre of the Forum, whereas those of the east colonnade stood some 5 m. back from it.

(*f*) The west colonnade is likewise uncertain. There are signs that it may have been double the width of the others, and a number of pieces of richly decorated Ionic or Corinthian entablature lying at its southern end suggest that there was some decorative feature at this point, possibly a monumental entrance facing the termination of the Colonnaded Street.

(*g*) Apart from the corner column already mentioned (see (*d*) above), the north colonnade, which also formed the south wall of the Basilica, is represented at present by only one column. At a later period a solid wall of re-used blocks was built behind and between the columns in such a way as to leave the southern half of each column projecting. A stretch of this wall, about 5 m. long, is preserved, with two semicircular gaps, about 2.20 m. between centres, from which the columns have disappeared. Lanckoronski (*op. cit.*, p. 164) maintains that the intercolumniation of this colonnade was related to the bays of the arcades of the Basilica, presumably on the basis of two intercolumniations being equal to one bay of the arcade. The spacing of the standing columns and of the gaps in the wall gives an intercolumniation of between 2.16 and 2.22 m., whereas to make the columns correspond exactly to the arcade would require an average intercolumniation of 2.11 m. Certainly Lanckoronski's solution seems the more likely, and it has been adopted on the plan (fig. 12); there is perhaps some explanation of the discrepancy that I failed to notice.

At one point near the centre of the north colonnade a few of the paving-slabs of the Forum are preserved *in situ*.

The central area of the Forum is at present a steep-sided depression, about 3 m. deep at the centre but partly filled at the sides with the wreckage of the colonnade. This depression is probably partly natural, and may also have been deepened to provide material for the levelling-up of other parts of the site. The original intention of the builders was no doubt to fill it with a range of vaulted cisterns, but there is no sign of such a scheme having ever been carried out.

Elevation and details of the Forum. With the exception of the decorated entablature found near the south-west corner of the Forum (see (*f*) above), the only non-Doric architectural members now visible are two pieces of Ionic or Corinthian architrave lying in the north-west corner of the Forum depression. These are double-sided, with the usual three fasciae, an undecorated upper moulding and a narrow moulding along the centre of the soffit.

The Doric columns of the Forum are cut in facets up to a point about 2.25 m. from the ground, and have 20 flutes of normal Doric type above that point. The lower diameter varies from 0.60 to 0.65 m.; some pieces of column-shafts in the west portico have a diameter of only 0.45 to 0.50 m., and must belong to a smaller order.

The half-dozen Doric capitals seen and measured are all of the same size and basic type; they have a moulded abacus, rather strongly convex echinus and the usual three neck-rings (fig. 13, *a*). One has a bracket projecting on one side, the top of which is flush with the top of the abacus (a simpler version of the type shown in Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, p. 168). The bracket presumably carried an architrave joining the main architrave at right angles. All the capitals are intended for columns with an upper diameter of 0.52 to 0.55 m., which accords well with the standing columns. In some, however, the neck-band is smooth or only fluted half way round, perhaps a sign that the building was completed in a hurry.

None of the pieces of inscribed architrave mentioned by Lanckoronski is now visible and the only piece of Doric architrave found is in fact too narrow (0.45 m.) to fit the 0.68 m. wide abaci of the surviving capitals; it is more likely to have belonged to the smaller order mentioned above. At the west side of the Forum depression there are several Doric frieze and cornice blocks that could also belong to the smaller order (fig. 13, *b*). It is possible that this smaller order formed part of an upper storey, but in the present state of our knowledge of this part of the building this point must remain in doubt.

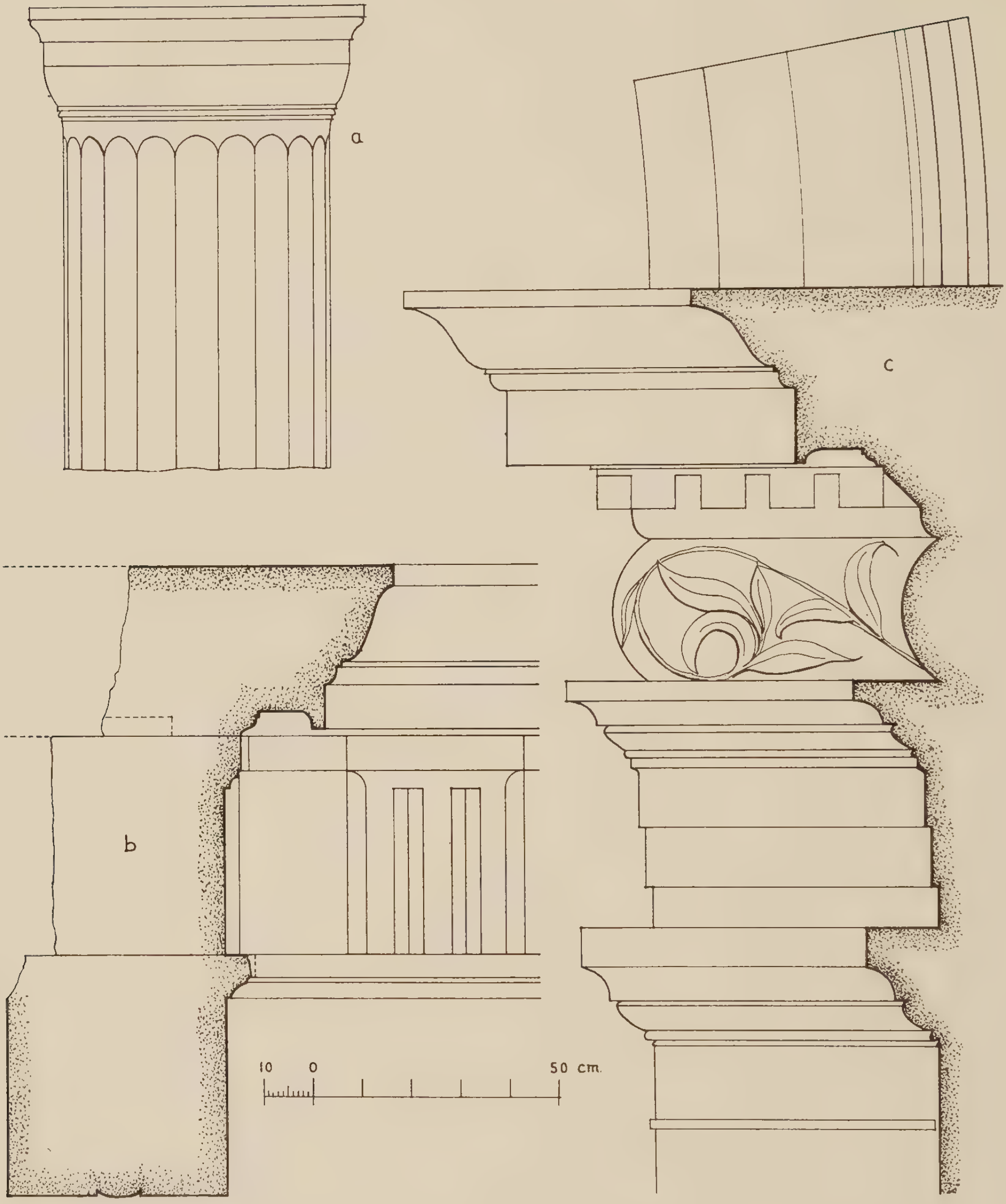

Fig. 13. Cremna, Forum and Basilica: Details

a. Doric Capital and Shaft, from the Forum

b. Small Doric Entablature, from the West Side of the Forum

c. Entablature at the Spring of the Arch between Nave and Exedra (see fig. 14)

The Basilica. This is by far the best preserved part of the complex. The evidence for the plan is as follows:—

(*a*) The north wall has been buried under earth and debris, but there can be little doubt that it continued the line of the north wall of the Exedra (below, p. 175).

(*b*) The east wall has collapsed but its position is virtually assured by that of the apse, of which several stones are visible and which appears to have projected beyond the wall. One of the stones of the apse is apparently re-used and the apse as a whole is probably a later addition dating from the conversion of the building into a church (see below).

(*c*) The south aisle took the form of an open colonnade, which has already been described, as it also formed the north portico of the Forum (above, p. 170, (*g*)).

(*d*) The west wall, which also forms the east wall of the Exedra, stands at one point to a height of about 8 m., considerably higher than any other part of the building (fig. 14, pl. XXXVII, *b*). It was pierced by three arches, of which the central one, with a span of 6.05 m., is preserved up to the spring on both sides and has three voussoirs in position. The northern of the two lateral arches, with a span of 2.68 m., is intact; the corresponding one on the south has gone except for its northern spring.

(*e*) Of the arcades, six piers on the north and two on the south are partly preserved, as well as a solid wall some 6 m. long that formed the eastern termination of the south arcade. The two engaged pilasters at the junction of the arcades with the west wall are preserved to their full height; the arches, together with the upper parts of the piers, have fallen bodily towards the south; the average span of the arches is 3.05–3.10 m., while the piers are 1.16 long × 0.58 m. wide. The north face of the wall that continues the line of the east end of the south arcade is only smoothed for the first 0.55 m. from its western end, which suggests that the remainder was masked either by a cross-wall or more probably by an internal apse somewhat similar to that in the civil basilica at Tipasa.[44]

Later Modifications to the plan of the Basilica. At some period the Basilica was converted into a church; the outer south colonnade was filled in to form a solid wall (above, p. 170, (*g*)), and a narthex was made by cutting off the two westernmost bays of the nave and aisles with a cross-wall pierced by three doors; the northern end of this wall is no longer visible, but the central and southern sections still stand two or three courses high; they are well built of blocks and the doors have good moulded jambs. It is likely that the present projecting apse is also of this period and replaces the internal apse or tribunal of the original basilica (above, (*b*)).

Elevations and details of the Basilica. Fig. 14 shows the interior of the west end of the Basilica, viewed from the nave, and the reconstruction given can be regarded as

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[44] J. Heurgon in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xlvii, 1930, p. 192, fig. 4.

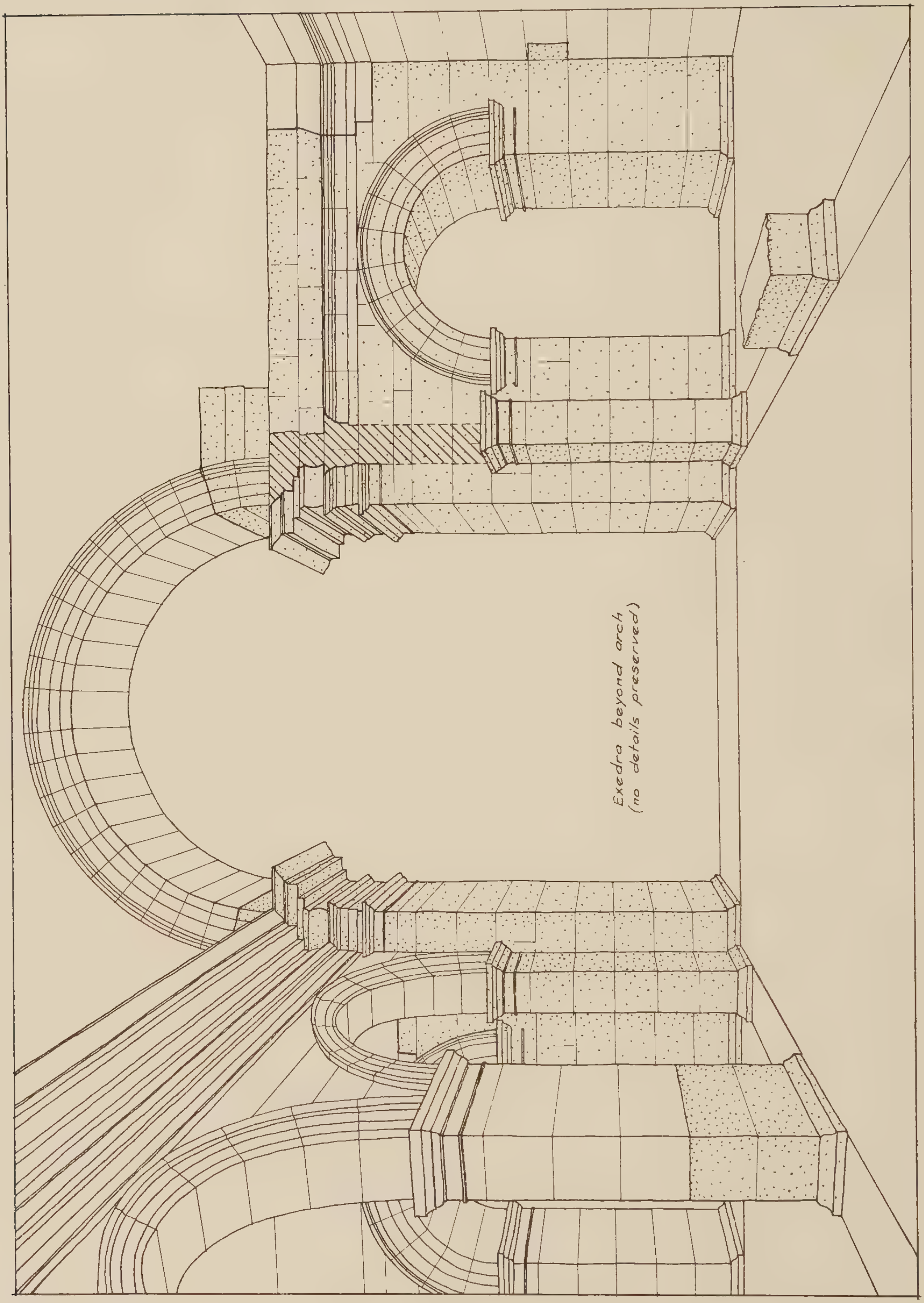
Exedra beyond arch
(no details preserved)

Fig. 14. Cremna, West End of the Basilica. (Stippled features still standing; see pl. XXXVII, *b*)

certain in so far as it concerns the lower storey. The bases of the piers were certainly moulded, but without some clearance of the rubble lying around them it was impossible to measure these mouldings in detail. The surviving pier-capitals are all badly damaged but appear to have been similar to those of the western terminal pilasters which are well preserved. The nave arches were probably moulded only on the side towards the nave; the first stone above each pier-capital extends the full length of the pier and serves as a springer-block for both arches. The entablature above the arches was similar to that below the spring of the great arch in the west wall (fig. 13, *c*), and the junction between the two is preserved.

The principal problem in the reconstruction of the upper part is whether or not it included a gallery. The ceiling over the lower storey of the aisles must have come immediately over the two-fascia architrave that runs above the lateral arches of the west wall, and there is sufficient clearance between this and the top of the cornice over the nave arcades for the heavy beams that would have been required to support a load-bearing floor of this span (nearly 6 m.). The remains of the north arcade, which lies on its side in the nave, are not sufficiently complete to provide evidence of a gallery or, alternatively, of a clerestory wall; nor are there any fragments visible elsewhere in the building that throw light on the question.

The Exedra. The outer faces of the south, west and north walls of the Exedra are visible in places; the interior is full of debris. Like the exedra that occupies a similar position in relation to the basilica at Aspendos (Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 97), it appears to have been a building of considerable height. It presumably had doors opening into the west portico of the Forum and on to the street at the west but, unlike the Aspendos example, it does not seem to have had a large opening at the centre of the west wall, as the lower courses of the wall are at this point intact.

The exedra at Aspendos has windows in the upper parts of the walls, showing that it was originally roofed. At Cremna there is no direct evidence on this point, but in view of the rigorous winter climate at this altitude, some kind of roof must surely have been necessary.

The entablature below the spring of the great arch returns along the inner face of the east wall, but there are no signs of any other decoration.

M. H. Ballance

III. THE FORUM-BASILICA TYPE IN THE ROMAN EAST

What was the significance of the Caesareum at Cyrene, and what place did it occupy in the history of the architecture of the Roman Empire?

To the first of these questions Sjöqvist[45] has already supplied an answer which, except on a few points of detail, is both simple and convincing. He relates the Caesareum at Cyrene to its more distinguished neighbour and namesake, the Kaisareion founded in 48 B.C. by Caesar himself at Alexandria, to be the official centre of the imperial cult in Egypt; and this building in turn he shows to have been in all probability derived from a specialised form of building devoted to the ruler-cult, of which the forerunners are to be sought in Ptolemaic Egypt, and of which excavation has recently revealed the surviving remains of an actual example.[46] This was a temple and precinct[47] dedicated to Ptolemy III and Berenice by the Greek garrison of Hermopolis Magna, and it consisted of an elongated rectangular *temenos* enclosed by a high wall, around the inner face of which ran a Doric portico; down the main axis of the *temenos* there was a processional way, and at the two ends of it there stood, respectively, an Ionic propylon and a temple, or altar. As Sjöqvist points out, the architectural detail is purely Greek, whereas the plan offers many close parallels with Pharaonic architecture. With its fusion of Greek and Pharaonic traditions, this is an architecture as uniquely characteristic of Ptolemaic Egypt as the particular forms of the ruler-cult to which it was devoted; and since one cannot imagine that so precisely articulated and monumental an architectural conception was invented for the garrison of a modest provincial city, there can be little doubt that it reflects some lost ruler-cult building in the capital, Alexandria. From this same building, or buildings, was derived also the historical Kaisareion.

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[45] *Art. cit.* (see note 3).

There is nothing now to be seen of the Kaisareion at Alexandria—to give it the name which it seems to have retained in popular usage, rather than that of *Sebasteion* (sc. *Augusteum*), which was presumably bestowed on it officially when the cult and, in some details at any rate, the buildings were reorganised under Augustus. The only features known to have survived into modern times are the two Augustan obelisks, one of which is now in Central Park, New York, the other, 'Cleopatra's Needle,' on the Embankment in London, and the footings of what appears to have been the north-west angle of the outer precinct-wall, briefly uncovered and recorded in 1874.[48] Fortunately we have one good ancient account, that of Philo,[49] which, for all its rhetorical language, is that of an eyewitness addressing a contemporary audience. From this we learn that it was 'a very large enclosure adorned with porticoes, libraries, club-rooms, gardens, propylaea, broad terraces, and courtyards under the open sky'; and that it contained a substantial temple, dedicated to *Caesar Epibaterius*, its primary purpose being, as its name implies, that of housing the cult of the Emperor, in his role of heir and successor to the Ptolemies. Another brief but vivid glimpse of the building is contained in the text of a wooden diptych found at Philadelphia, which the writer, a veteran of the legion X Fretensis, declares to be a true copy of the bronze certificate of discharge, dated A.D. 88–89, 'which is lodged in the Great Caesareum, as you mount the second stairs, within the right-hand portico, near the temple of the Marble Venus, fastened on the wall.'[50] From this we learn that there were secondary shrines within the complex, and that the porticoes served as an official repository and place of display for documents such as military diplomas; the steps referred to were presumably those of the facade, which looked out over the harbour.

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[46] *ibid.* pp. 95–98.

[47] A. J. B. Wace, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Art, Farouk I university*, iii, 1947, p. 2: . . . *τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὸν ναόν καὶ τ'ἄλλα ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὴν στο[ὰ]ν* . . .

[48] Cited and discussed by Sjöqvist, *art. cit.*, p. 90.

[49] *de legatione ad Gaium*, 22, 150 f.

[50] *ILS*, iii, 2, 9059. cf. also Mich. Pap. 766 (*Classical Philology*, xxii, 1927, page 429), an Alexandrian birth-certificate, dated A.D. 128: 'descriptum et recognitum ex tabula professionum quibus liberi nati sunt quae tabula proposita erat in foro Aug(usti) . . . '

When Philo wrote, *c.* A.D. 40, there were, he states, already *Kaisareia* in many other cities. The best-known and, after that of Alexandria the earliest of these, was that of Antioch, also founded by Caesar, when he visited the city in 47 B.C. This was restored in A.D. 371 by Valens, and it is the use by Malalas[51] of the term 'basilica' in describing this monument that has hitherto been an obstacle to the proper appreciation both of Valens's building and its predecessor. As Sjöqvist has convincingly demonstrated, both were in fact rectangular colonnaded enclosures, surrounded on all four sides by porticoes, and incorporating, presumably on the main axis, an apsed portico (or portico with an apse) in which stood a statue of the Emperor. There is no mention of a temple, but it is significant for the later development of the associated cult that Caesar himself is said to have dedicated within it a bronze statue to the Tyche of Rome. From the very outset we have here the germ of the familiar later cult of Rome and Augustus.

For the later development of the *Kaisareia* we are largely dependent on casual references in epigraphy. The following list of examples,[52] though doubtless incomplete, will serve to give an idea of the nature of this evidence.

(i) *Italy*

Ateste (Este) *CIL* v, 2533 : *Caesar* [. . . *p*]*ortic*[. . . .

Benevento *CIL* ix, 1556 = *ILS*, 109 : *P. Veidius P.f. Pollio Caesareum imp. Caesari Augusto et coloniae Beneventanae* . . . Veidius Pollio died in 15 B.C.

Castiglione in Teverina *Röm. Mitt.* 1903, 336 : *Germanicus Aug. lib. proc. Caesareum fecit et omni cultu exornavit.* Possibly first century A.D.

Mutina (Modena) *CIL* xi, 948 : [*nomina eorum qui*] *pecu*[*niam c*]*ontulerunt* [*in Ca*]*esareum faciun*[*dum i*]*n xystos Augus*[*t . . . no*]*vis operib*[*us ex*]*truendos ornand*[*os in*] *munitionem via*[*e . . . e*] *silice sternend*[*ae* . . . . Given the well-known tendency of inscriptions to make the work undertaken sound as impressive as possible, the three objectives listed may well in fact have been part of the same undertaking.

Rome *ILS*, 5047–5048 (*Acta* of the Arval Brethren, A.D. 185, 224). Sacrifices *ante Caesareum.*

Volcei (Buccino, Lucania) *CIL* x, 415 : *ex tes*]*tamento Otacili Galli patris Caesare*[*um vetustate . . .*] *conlapsum* . . . . Second century A.D. ?

(ii) *Greece and Asia Minor*

Ephesus *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii, 522 (bilingual) : Augustus (B.C. 6) . . . *ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augusteum* (Σεβαστῆον) *muro muniendum curavit.* Restored in A.D. 79–80 (Ditt. *Syll.*,² 818).

Gytheion (Laconia) (*a*) *SEG* xi, 923, 28 ff. Decree (*temp.* Tiberius) laying down the arrangements for local celebrations of the imperial cult : ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ καισαρῆον ἡ πομπὴ παραγένηται . . .

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[51] (ed. Dindorf) pp. 216, 17 ff.; 338, 19 ff. For a discussion of these passages, see Sjöqvist, *art. cit.*, pp. 91–95; also Glanville Downey, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xli, 1937, pp. 194–211, some of whose conclusions now require modification.

[52] I am indebted to Miss J. M. Reynolds and Mr. M. Frederiksen for many of these references.

(*b*) *IG* v, 1208 : the record of a bequest of money for an annual distribution of oil, of which three copies are to be displayed, one in the Agora, one in the Caesareum, and one in the Gymnasium.

Messene *IG* v, 1462 : restoration of *τὰς ὑπερκειμένας παραστάδας κατὰ τὸ καισαρῆον.*

Phanagoria (Bosporus) *IGRR* i, 904 : a fragment, referring to a priest of the (presumably local) *Kaisareion.*

Smyrna *CIG* ii, 3276 : the sealed original of a funerary inscription stored *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καισαρήῳ*; a variant of the commoner formula, wherein the true copy is lodged *εἰς τὸ* (*ἐν Σμύρνῃ*) *ἀρχεῖον* (*IGRR* iv, 1459, 1464, 1465 : *CIG* ii, 3266).

(iii) *Other Eastern Provinces*

Alexandria v. above, p. 175 f.

Antioch v. above, p. 177.

Cyrene v. above, p. 160.

Palmyra J. Cantineau, *Syria*, xvii, 1936, pp. 277–282. Fragmentary inscription recording the erection of a number of honorary statues : . . . [ἐ]ν *τῷ καισαρείῳ ἔφιππον ἀν*[*δριά*]*ντα.*

These examples appear to indicate a distribution predominantly in Italy and the more strongly Hellenised of the Eastern Provinces; and a sufficient number of them are themselves early, or else refer to the restoration of earlier buildings, to suggest that the name *Caesareum*, or *Kaisareion*, is normally an early one and may even be reliable evidence of early foundation. Apart from the fragmentary inscription at Ateste, with its reference to a portico, or porticoes, and the possible association of the Caesareum near Mutina with Imperially-named *xysti*, we learn nothing directly of the architecture of the buildings concerned. But we do learn that, like the Kaisareion at Alexandria, that of Smyrna was used for the conservation and display of records; and it is evident that several of these were, as Philo says, large and imposing monuments, taking an important place in the official and ceremonial life of the city in which they stood.

Apart from the Caesareum at Cyrene, and possibly those of Smyrna and of Palmyra (see below), none of these buildings has come down to us; and since in antiquity, as today, architectural terminology and architectural forms were independent though closely related variables, it would be rash to assume that all of them were derived from the same models. For the subsequent development of the architectural theme so resoundingly established by the two great Caesarian archetypes at Alexandria and at Antioch we are dependent very largely upon inference, and in particular upon the analysis of such other Roman buildings as may be thought to have served a similar purpose and to display basic similarities of plan.

One such line of development has already been sketched by Sjöqvist, who sees in two of the principal Caesarian monuments of Rome, the Saepta Iulia and the

Forum Caesaris,[53] the more cautious expression of a similar ideology and architectural intent. In the latter monument in particular the native Italic elements incorporated into the design are important enough to justify our regarding the final result as a new creation; and the Forum Augustum was to accentuate this element of Romanisation. But with the Templum Divi Claudi and Domitian's Porticus Divorum we return to the context of the imperial cult, and in both of these (and more particularly in the second) we find a reversion to something that approximates very closely to the Hellenised version of the Ptolemaic archetype. As Sjöqvist very aptly remarks, 'no monument in the city of Rome or in the Roman West resembled so closely the original Kaisareia, and few Roman rulers had so pronounced divine ambitions as its builder, Domitian, *Dominus et Deus*. Similar ideological content was expressed in similar architectural form; the Ptolemaic ruler sanctuary had found its perfect counterpart in Imperial Rome.'[54]

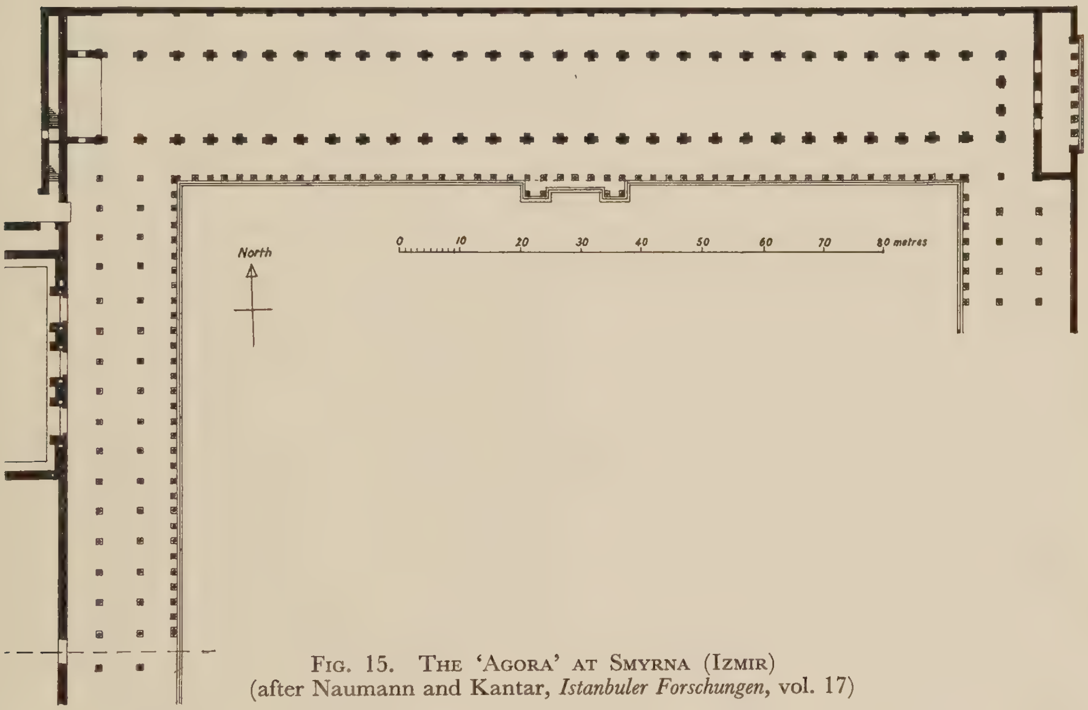

FIG. 15. THE 'AGORA' AT SMYRNA (IZMIR)
(after Naumann and Kantar, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, vol. 17)

This was one line of development, the result of the impact of new ideas and requirements upon the mixture of native Italic and Hellenistic architectural traditions already established in the capital. But Rome, despite its political preeminence, was by no means the only creative artistic centre within the Empire; and a comparison of the plan of the Caesareum at Cyrene with that of the basilica and forum at Cremna, or with that of the so-called Agora at Smyrna (fig. 15),[55] can hardly fail to suggest the possibility of a connection between these three buildings that was independent of architectural developments in the capital. All three, it is true, have features in common with the familiar forum-basilica complex of the western provinces; and, in the case both of the two later buildings and of the Hadrianic reconstruction of the Caesareum at Cyrene, it would be perverse to exclude the possible influence of what was, by the second century, a commonplace of architectural planning throughout more than half of the Roman Empire. Apart, however, from the special case of the Imperial fora in Rome itself, there is really nothing in the West to compare with the deliberate monumental isolation that characterises these three buildings. The forum in the western provinces was a distinct area, barred to wheeled traffic; but in all other respects, so far from being a separate, exclusive monument, it was itself the architectural focus of, and gave meaning to, the whole city-plan around it. One cannot imagine lifting the forum of Pompeii (or Veleia, or Trier, or Sabratha) out of its place and replacing it by

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[53] *art. cit.*, pp. 105–106. Both buildings were envisaged as early as 54 B.C. (Cicero, *ad Atticum*, iv, 16, 8), but the plans were later extensively modified.

[54] *ibid.*, p. 108.

[55] R. Naumann and S. Kantar, 'Die Agora von Smyrna,' *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 17, 1950, pp. 69–114.

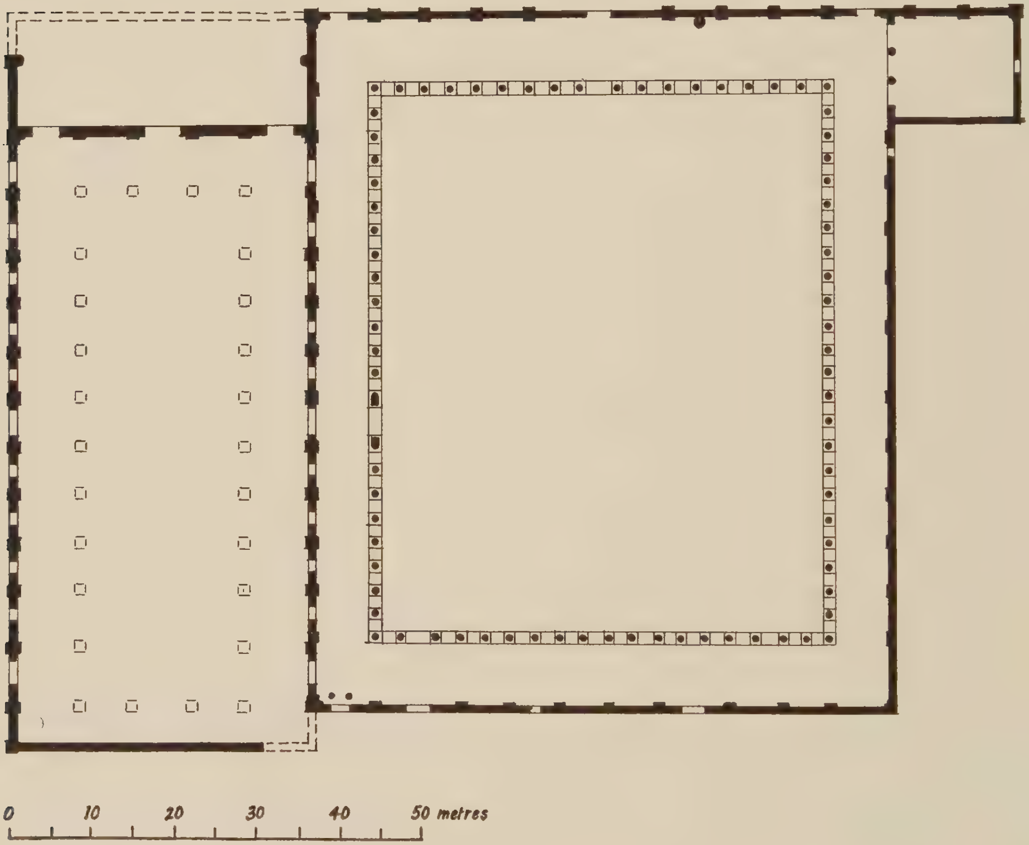

Fig. 16. The 'Agora' at Palmyra

(after Seyrig, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*, 1940; the hypothetical internal colonnades within the 'Basilica' are an addition to his plan. The 'basilica' is oriented roughly south-west (top of page) and north-east) some other building. However monumentalised, these western fora remain indissolubly wedded to the larger organisms of which they were part. The buildings at Smyrna and Cremna, on the other hand, like the Caesareum at Cyrene, retain something of the exclusive character of independent *temene*, within which, by contrast, the columnar hall was linked far more closely with the porticoed area than was usual practice in the West. Whether or not the 'Agora' at Smyrna is the *Kaisareion* of the inscriptions, both it and the building at Cremna do seem to fall into place within the architectural tradition represented by the Caesareum at Cyrene.

It is just possible that the remains of yet another of the recorded *Kaisareia* can be identified—that of Palmyra. All that the inscription listed above (p. 178) tells us is that it was the sort of public monument in which one might put up an honorary statue. About half-way along the south-western side of the city there is, however, a monument of which only one part has yet been excavated, but of which the visible remains strongly suggest a linked quadriporticus and basilica (fig. 16). The excavated portion is the so-called Agora, a rectangular colonnaded enclosure, with a small building opening off one angle and a larger building occupying the whole of the south-east side. The latter, which awaits excavation, is connected with the Agora by three large doors, and consists of an elongated rectangular hall with a 'narthex' at one end of it. There are three doors also between the main hall and the narthex, and three more in the remaining long wall, facing those that lead into the 'Agora.' The hall measures some 35 m. by 75 m. internally and was almost certainly roofed; and although nothing can at present be seen of any columns supporting the roof, the distribution of the doors and of the pilasters along the inner faces of the outer walls[56] suggests a 'centralised' basilica, with four internal colonnades, respectively of 4 and 10 columns, both figures inclusive of the angle columns.

None of the many inscriptions found within the 'Agora' names the monument; but they do show that in antiquity it was crowded with a jostling throng of honorary statues, some at ground-level, others carried on brackets let into the columns; and in his preliminary account of the excavation[57] M. Seyrig suggests, very plausibly, that this is the *Tetradeion*, which an inscription found elsewhere in the city records as fulfilling precisely this function.[58] The earliest of the inscriptions found is of A.D. 76, but, at any rate in its completed form, the present building cannot be as early. The architectural detail of the Corinthian colonnades and of the window-niches incorporated in the walls suggests a Hadrianic date, and the great majority of the inscriptions are in fact of the second century. The visible remains of the 'Basilica' appear to be contemporary; but here too there are elements (notably its projection north-eastwards, about 6 m. beyond the north-east wall of the 'Agora') which suggest unexplained complexities either in the building-history of the present monument or in the previous history of the site on which it stands.

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[56] That these are the responding elements of an internal colonnade seems clear from the analogy of the identical pilasters (in this case opposite every second column) within the 'Agora' porticoes. Note also the obviously functional displacement of those at either end of the wall common to the two buildings.

[57] *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1940, pp. 237–249. M. Seyrig, in a recent letter, accepts the possibility that this building was the Caesareum of Palmyra, and points out that it was chosen as the site not only of a number of imperial statues but of the inscription giving the text of the well-known customs-edict (see *Syria*, xxii, 1941, pp. 155 ff.).

[58] R. Mouterde, *Syria*, xii, 1931, p. 107 : *τεσσάρων ἀνδριάντων ἐν τῷ τετραδείῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ κειόνων δημοσίοις ἀναλώμασι κατηξιωμένων* . . .

Is this monument, or any part of it, the *Kaisareion* of the inscription?[59] It was certainly a public monument in which honorary statues were displayed; and it bears an obvious family resemblance to the buildings previously described. For reasons which at present elude us, but which may be connected with the previous history of the site, the component elements of the plan are more sharply distinguished. But such features as the break in the 'Agora' colonnade opposite the main communicating doorway, and the window-niches set between the pilasters of the common wall, leave us no room for doubt that the two buildings were intimately connected; and the 'narthex' offers a further, and very suggestive, parallel to the *exedra* of the basilica at Cremna and (in its Hadrianic form) to the apse of the Caesareum at Cyrene. Whether or not this monument bore the name of *Kaisareion*, it had much in common with the group of buildings already discussed. In passing, we may note that, if the suggested lay-out of the internal colonnades of the 'Basilica' is correct—and the absence of any appropriately-placed responding features on the inner side of the south-east wall appears to exclude a conventional triple-aisled basilica—it is evidence of the influence, either directly or through intermediaries elsewhere in Syria, of a type of basilica that was first developed in Italy and, to judge from the surviving examples, only sparingly used elsewhere in the Roman East.[60]

In all of these buildings there is, as we have seen, quite a close general resemblance to the familiar forum-basilica complex of the western provinces, a resemblance which certainly cannot have escaped the notice of, or been without influence upon, the architects who designed them. Throughout the Imperial age the stoa remained the normal eastern counterpart of the basilica. Not only must the substitution of a basilica for the earlier stoa at Cyrene be regarded as a direct result of the impact of western ideas; but the fact that no less than three of the other surviving basilicas in the eastern provinces are found in close association with a quadrangular, porticoed 'forum' is clear evidence of a similar trend elsewhere in the second-century Roman East. At Smyrna, the result is a building that has all the appearance of a deliberate compromise between the Roman basilica and the familiar multiple stoa of Greek practice. Elsewhere, notably (if the proposed restoration is correct) at Palmyra, there was a more whole-hearted acceptance of Roman models. In either case we can see the workings of a process of architectural synthesis which, not long afterwards, was to find complete expression in the great Severan forum and basilica at Lepcis Magna (fig. 17). For all its location in a western province, this was a building designed by a Greek architect (probably from Asia Minor) and very largely carried out by Greek methods and Greek workmen;[61] it was an enclosed, self-contained monument in the eastern manner; and in its incorporation of a temple dedicated to the members of the reigning dynasty it still echoed the tradition established centuries earlier in Alexandria. And yet it bore the familiar western names of *forum* and *basilica*;[62] it made liberal use of the *tabernae* of western forum-architecture; and the form and location of the temple within the complex relate it far more closely to the Imperial fora of the capital than to its forerunners in the Roman East. This is a truly Imperial architecture, in which East and West cease to have any meaning except as the separate strands within a common fabric.

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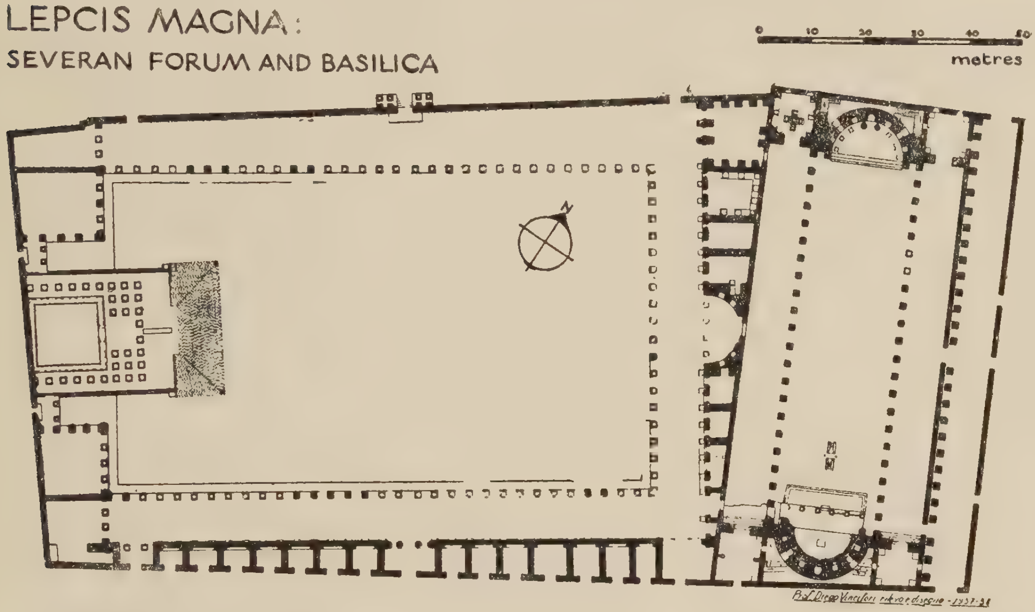
[59] The possible existence of an alternative name, *Tetradeion*, is no obstacle. Either name might have been applicable strictly to a part only of the monument and thence, by extension, to the whole; alternatively, like the Kaisareion (Sebasteion) at Alexandria it may have had both an official and a popular name.

[60] Ward Perkins, *PBSR*, xxii, 1954, pp. 76–77.

[61] Ward Perkins, *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxviii, 1948, pp. 60–72; *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1951, pp. 274–279.


LEPCIS MAGNA:
SEVERAN FORUM AND BASILICA
0 10 20 30 40 50
metres
Prof. Diego Vincifori rilievo e disegno - 1937-38

(Block by courtesy of the Roman Society)

FIG. 17. THE SEVERAN FORUM AND BASILICA AT LEPCIS MAGNA

As regards the Caesareum at Cyrene, there are many problems of detail outstanding, but in its main outlines the story seems to be clear enough. This was a building designed, probably quite early in the reign of Augustus, for the same purposes and following the same general plan as its more famous neighbour in Alexandria. It was by no means a slavish copy, but was adapted both to the scale and to the particular topographical conditions of its site; and in at least one important aspect it deviates sharply from the Ptolemaic archetype, namely in its complete disregard of the requirements of strict axial symmetry: instead of a single axis there were two contrasting axes, intersecting at right angles, and the building was symmetrical about neither. After the addition of a small, central temple facing the south-east entrance the main emphasis was on the longer axis; but it may well have been the shorter, transverse axis that was architecturally dominant in the original plan. Where the actual shrine of the Imperial cult originally stood we cannot say. It may have been an independent building, or altar, on the site of the later temple; or it may from the outset have been in some way incorporated within the stoa. The latter is perhaps the more probable; certainly it must have been in the apse in the basilica period.

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[62] *IRT*, 562, 566: *forum* (*novum*) *Severianum*. The basilica is nowhere explicitly named in the surviving texts, but figures by implication in the *basilica vetus* of *IRT* 467.

To what extent any of these variants from the original model may have been present already in the Kaisareion at Alexandria, we have no means of judging. We can only note that the monuments at Smyrna, at Cremna and at Palmyra all exhibit a somewhat similar ambivalence. This is particularly noticeable at Smyrna, where the retention of an obviously functional cross-axis down the length of the basilica contrasts strangely with its otherwise remarkably close integration into the symmetrical plan of the adjoining porticoes. It is very tempting to regard this as reflecting the requirements of the Imperial cult, and similarly to see in the *exedra* at Cremna the counterpart of the apse at Cyrene. At Smyrna itself there does not seem to have been any substantial partition between the space at the end of the main hall and the rest of the basilica. At Palmyra, on the other hand, there is a distinct 'narthex' opening off the end of the basilica; and the third-century basilica at Aspendos,[63] not far from Cremna, incorporates an identically-placed square feature. In the West, the idea of incorporating a shrine of the Imperial cult within a basilica goes back at least to the time of Vitruvius's basilica at Fano, and we have such well-documented surviving examples as that annexed to the basilica at Sabratha.[64] Here surely we have another parallel between eastern and western practice, differently worked out but serving an essentially similar function.

It is precisely in the glimpses that they afford us of the interaction of the architectural traditions of the several cultural provinces of the Roman Empire that the buildings which form the subject of this article reveal themselves most clearly as the product of their age. By comparison with the progressive brick-and-concrete monuments of the capital, they belong to an essentially conservative tradition. But it was not by any means a stagnant tradition. It is characteristic of the most stereotyped of Roman architectural forms that, both in the details of their planning and in the uses to which they might be put, they were always prepared to adapt themselves to the changing requirements of the age; and although in this particular case the thread of development can be traced without a break from its genesis in Hellenistic Egypt, a building such as the Agora at Smyrna or the Severan Forum at Lepcis had travelled a long way from the ancestral ruler-cult building of the Ptolemies. One of the primary factors controlling this development—and it is a fundamental condition of the architectural history of the Roman Empire—was the existence within the Empire of a large number of regional schools of architecture, not all of them of equal importance, but all alike in being deeply rooted in local custom and deriving their individuality from the peculiarities of materials, craftsmanship and social habit that distinguished each of these regions from its neighbours. Coupled with these persistent regionalisms, and often cutting right across them, there was a constant and, as time passed, increasingly vigorous interchange of ideas, of craftsmen, and even of building materials, from one end of the Empire to the other; and it is to the interaction of these two contrasting tendencies that we have to look for a great deal that would otherwise be quite inexplicable in the development of Roman Imperial architecture.

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[63] K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i, Vienna, 1890, pp. 96–98.

[64] G. Caputo, *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, i, 1950, pp. 7–28; Ward Perkins, *Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripolitania*, ii, 1949, p. 23. Also, now, Lucus Feroniae.

That the conditions operating under the Roman Empire were only an extension of those already prevailing in the Hellenistic Age is well illustrated in the present instance. The archetype of the *Kaisareia* took shape as a direct result of the political and cultural union under the Ptolemies of two widely differing regional traditions, that of Greece proper and that of Pharaonic Egypt. To the resulting architectural type the advent of Roman rule gave a new and wider significance. It also carried it afield, to Rome and Italy, as well as to the other provinces of the Roman East.

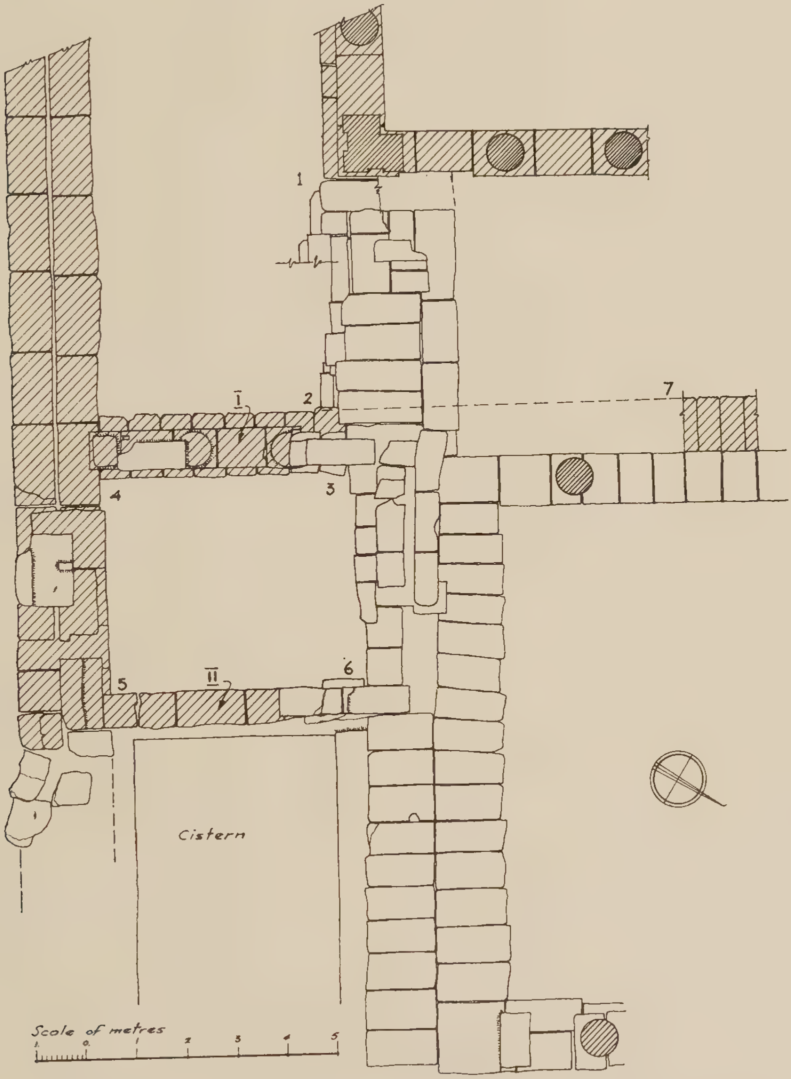

FIG. 18. CYRENE: EXCAVATIONS WITHIN THE BASILICA VESTIBULE, 1956

In these new settings it met and mingled with other architectural traditions and, confronted with new social environments, took on fresh requirements and fresh meaning. In Rome itself it gave rise to a whole series of important public monuments in which the Alexandrian element is characteristically merged with the established Italo-Hellenistic traditions of Republican Italy. In the Greek provinces of the Roman East the situation was rather different. Here it was confronted by an architecture with the outward forms of which it already had a great deal in common. Even so, there were important differences of historical and cultural background between, for example, Asia Minor and Egypt, or even Cyrenaica and Egypt; and sooner or later these were bound to make themselves felt, both in the planning of the buildings and in the uses to which they were put. In Rome the strict axial symmetry of the Egyptian model found itself in congenial hands. In the Greek world, on the other hand, it seems right from the outset to have been discarded in favour of a more flexible grouping about the central open space.

In course of time there were fresh exchanges. The increasing spread of Roman ideas into the eastern provinces carried with it that characteristically western institution, the basilica; in return, the reorganisation of the Aegean marble trade on highly centralised, commercial lines brought Greek materials and Greek craftsmen in increasing numbers into the building-yards of the West. For a time, as never before, the tide was set against the perpetuation of the old regionalisms and towards the creation of a truly universal, Imperial style. Of that movement the Forum and Basilica at Lepcis are one of the great surviving monuments.

There, in epitome, is the story of the transition from the architecture of the Hellenistic Age to that of Rome and of the Roman provinces. Somewhere in midstream stands the Caesareum at Cyrene; a monument of no very great importance in its own day outside the immediate setting of its own city, and yet, through the accident of its survival, standing for a whole group of buildings which, perhaps as much as any other single group, had a determining part to play in the shaping of that story.

J. B. Ward Perkins

APPENDIX I. THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1956

The following trenches were dug during the course of the excavations undertaken in 1956. They were planned with the specific purpose of determining whether the basilica was a part of the original structure of the Caesareum and, if not, what sort of building had preceded it.

For the location of the individual trenches see figs. 18 and 23.

Trench 1. Examining the junction between the outer east corner of the Quadriporticus stylobate and the transverse wall that divides the Vestibule from the main basilical hall. Fig. 19; Pl. XXXV, *a.*

The two structures are patently of different periods, the Quadriporticus being the earlier. The massive basilica foundations have been built up against those of the earlier structure, overlapping them where they project and cracking as a result of subsequent settlement.

Trenches 2 and 3. Examining the junction between the wall that divides the Vestibule from the main basilical hall and the first of the two cross-walls (fig. 23 "I") within the Vestibule itself. Fig. 20; pl. XXXV, *b*, *c*.

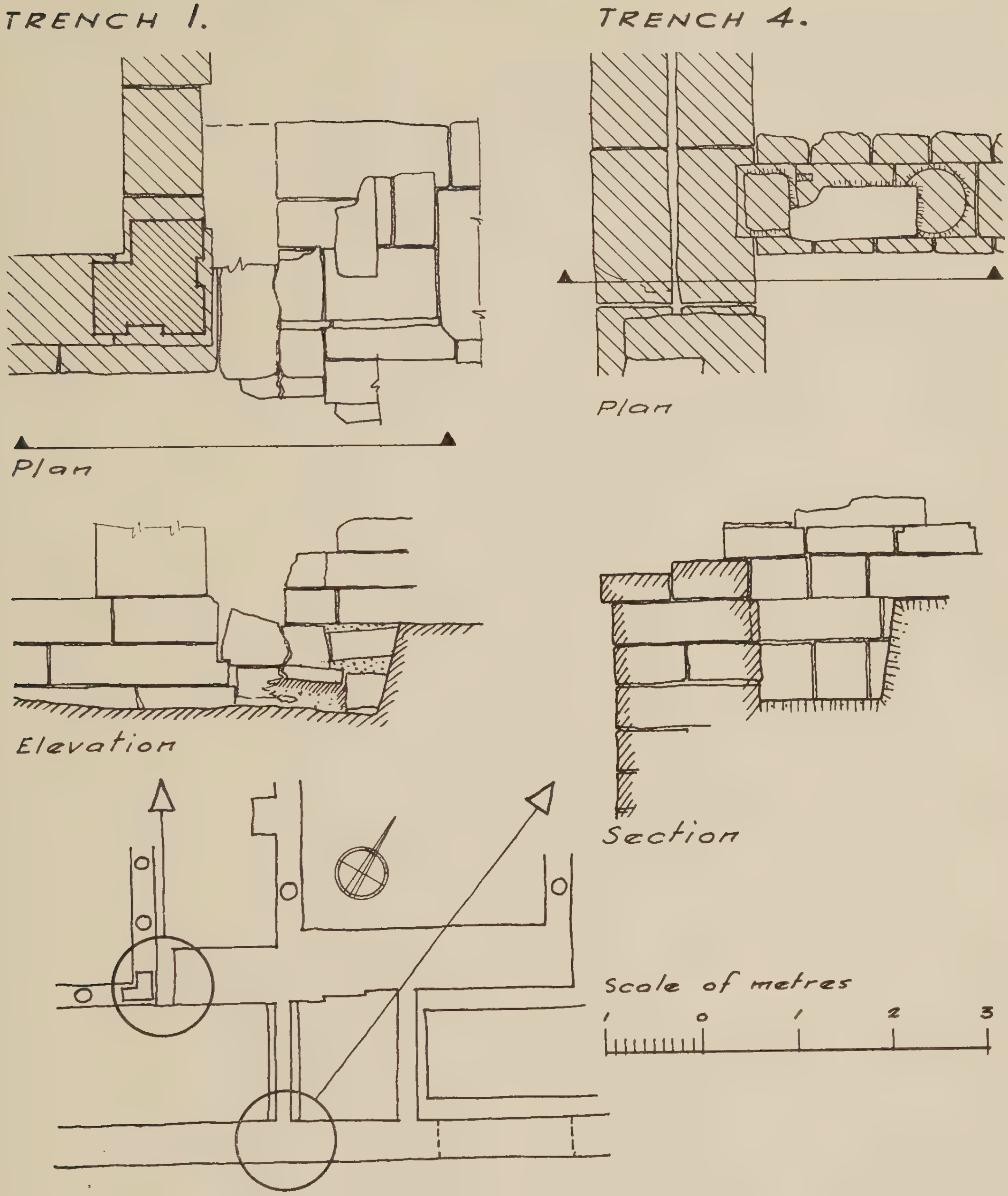
TRENCH 1.
TRENCH 4.
Plan
Plan
Elevation
Section
Scale of metres
1
0
1
2
3

FIG. 19. EXCAVATIONS, 1956: TRENCHES 1 AND 4

The cross-wall (I) is the earlier of the two, running through and being straddled by the basilica footings. It consists of a well built footing, varying in width from 1 m. to 1.25 m. and consisting of alternate courses of headers and stretchers, each about 50 cm. high; and on top of this, set back some 25 cm. from the more regular of the two faces, that towards the south-west, there is a shallower course, 20 cm. high and 87 cm. wide, of which both faces are carefully dressed to a regular surface. Close examination of the upper surface of the latter shows that it was the stylobate of a colonnade, of which the positions of two columns and a rectangular terminal pilaster can clearly be seen, marked out by the differential wear of the stone (pl. XXXVI, *a*, *b*). The columns were 73–75 cm. in diameter and just under 1.90 m. apart from centre to centre.

The foundations of the wall that divides the Vestibule from the main hall of the basilica straddle this earlier footing, demolishing the stylobate, together with the seating-course on which it stood, but incorporating the rest intact. On top of the earlier footing, either now or at some later date, there was built a narrow transverse wall with a central opening, one block from the outer jamb of which is still in position, partly overlying the imprint of one of the columns of the preceeding period (pl. XXXVI, *b*).

Trench 3 (pl. XXXV, *c*) confirms the conclusions of Trench 2. The north-east face of the stylobate footing is rather less regular, and it is easier on this side to see how the later wall has cut down through the seating-course and into the top of the course below it.

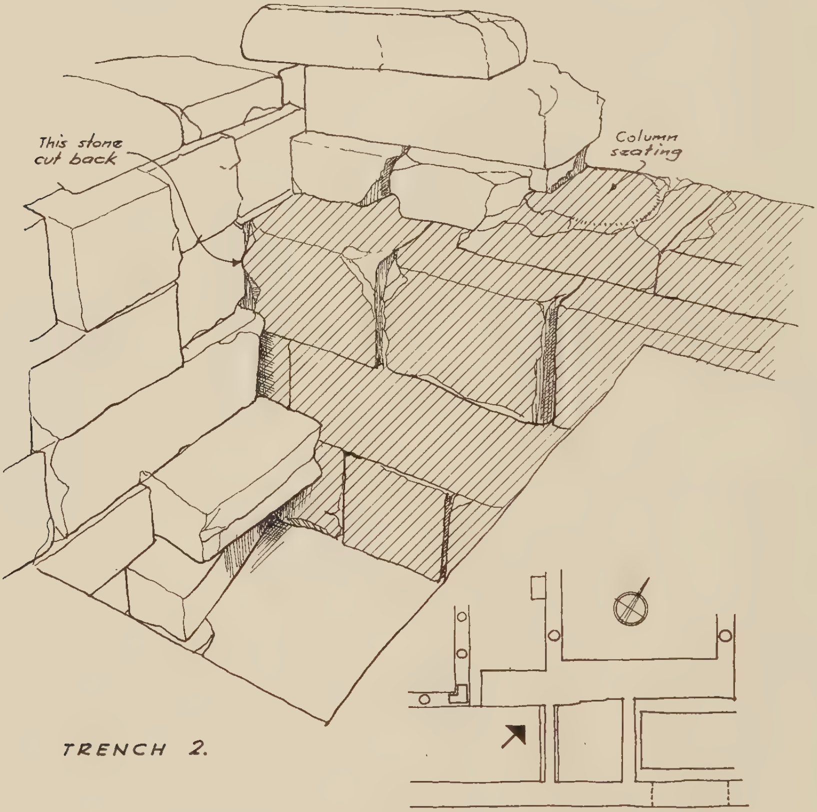

Fig. 20. Excavations, 1956 : Trench 2

Trench 4. Examining the junction between the first of the two cross-walls (I) within the Vestibule and the inner face of the outer perimeter wall. Fig. 19.

The two walls are structurally distinct, the footings of the cross-wall being built up against those of the outer wall to a depth of at least four courses; the stylobate rests on top of the outer foundations against the line of the inner face of the (vanished) superstructure. This does not necessarily imply a substantial difference of date, since the regular isodomic coursing of the outer wall would have made the builders reluctant to undertake any but essential bonding. What is quite certain is that this was never (as has been suggested, see p. 155) the outer angle of a quadriporticus symmetrical about its own longer axis.

Trench 5. Examining the junction between the second of the two cross-walls ("II") within the Vestibule and the inner face of the footings of the outer perimeter wall. Fig. 21; pl. XXXVI, *c*.

The two footings are contemporary. Although of the five courses of the cross-wall examined, four are built up against the outer wall (presumably for the same reasons as in Trench 4), the fourth course down is tightly bonded into it. The dressing of the inner face of the top course of the cross-wall, an oblique striation with a coarse punch, is the same as that used for the inner face of the outer wall, wherever the latter is preserved above pavement level (cf. pl. XXVIII, *b*).

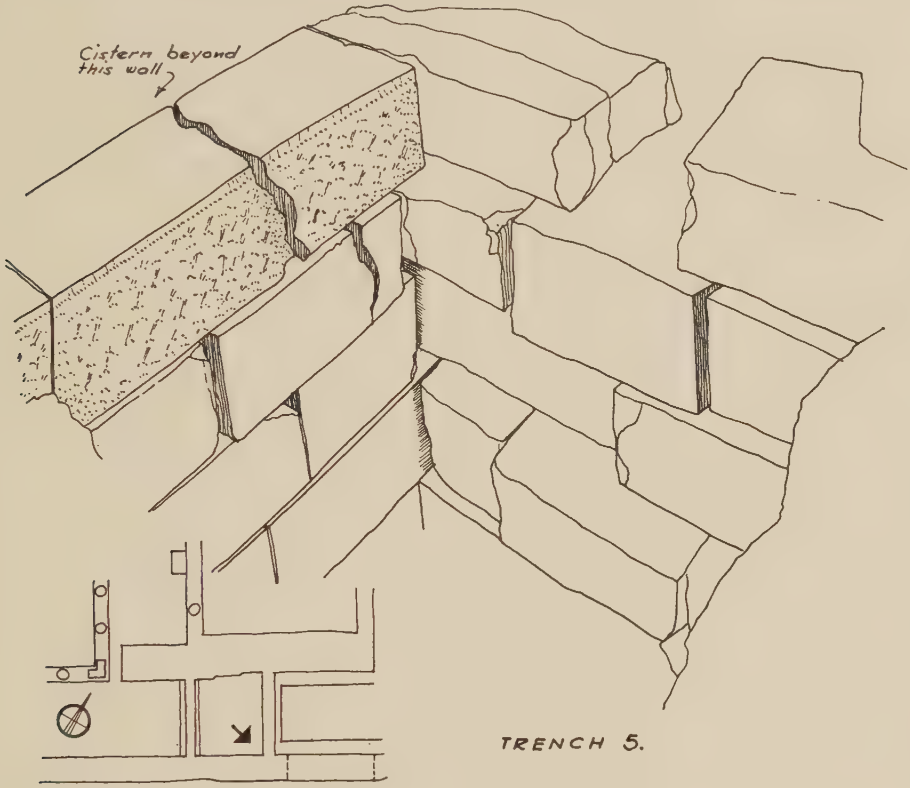

FIG. 21. EXCAVATIONS, 1956: TRENCH 5

Immediately beyond wall II there is a deep cistern occupying the whole of this end of the Vestibule. The cistern itself is a late feature, and its construction involved the blocking of an opening 3.60 m. wide in the outer wall immediately adjoining wall II. The masonry at this point is much obscured, on the inside by the waterproof rendering of the cistern and on the outside by fallen blocks; but measurements of the vertical joints on either side of the break show that the isodomic coursing runs through without interruption, and it cannot therefore have been an original feature. Still less can this be regarded as the outer angle of a pre-basilical phase of the Caesareum. One possibility is that the break was made when the basilica was added in order to provide a direct access to it from the street, this feature being abolished later when the basilica went out of use.

Trench 6. Examining the junction between the second of the two cross-walls (II) within the Vestibule and the wall that divides the Vestibule from the main basilical hall.

The cross-wall (II) is the earlier of the two. As in the case of cross-wall I, a few of the upper blocks have been removed, in order to allow the top courses of the later footing to run through without interruption; below this point, the later footing straddles the earlier, incorporating it intact.

Trench 7. Against the outer face of the south-west stylobate of the basilical hall, 6 m. east of the wall that divides it from the Vestibule.

The stylobate overlaps, and its footings are built up against, the footings of an earlier wall, the top course of which is 65 cm. below the Basilica stylobate and projects 105 cm. to the south-west of its outer edge. This earlier wall, with its carefully dressed platform of headers and slightly splayed vertical jointing, is identical both in structure and alignment with the first of the two cross-walls (I) within the Vestibule, of which it is clearly the extension. At this point there is no surviving trace of the earlier stylobate.

Trench 8. In the angle between the south-west stylobate of the basilical hall and the transverse footing that divides it from the apse. Fig. 22.

As in Trench 7, the basilica stylobate is built up against the inner face of the earlier footing, which is capped by the same slightly-projecting course of carefully dressed headers; on top of the latter, set back 33 cm. from its outer (south-west) face, is a line of stretchers, which appear also to belong to the earlier phase, since one of them is sealed in place by the footings of the transverse wall. The evidence on this latter point is, however, hardly conclusive. What does appear to be established is that the line of the first cross-wall (I) in the Vestibule is continuous right across the full length of the building.

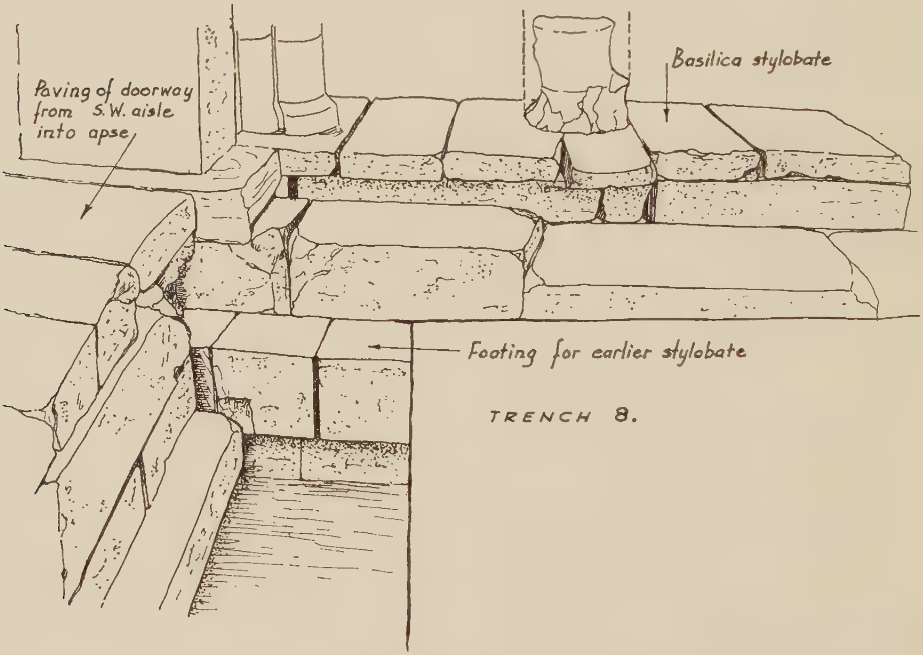
Paving of doorway from S.W. aisle into apse
Basilica stylobate
Footing for earlier stylobate
TRENCH 8.

Fig. 22. Excavations, 1956: Trench 8

In addition to the aforementioned trenches dug in 1955, early structures have been exposed, or their existence can be deduced, at several other points within the basilica.

At least one of these is earlier than the Caesareum in its original form. This is a wall (fig. 23, "III") running NE-SW across the north-east aisle of the basilica at a depth of 1 m. below pavement-level. All that can now be seen is a course of coupled stretcher-blocks, each 1.46 m. long and together 90 cm. wide, resting on a course of headers. At the point where the line of this wall intersects that of the footings of the outer platform, the former has been dismantled at a convenient joint, leaving a gap of some 30 cm. between the two; at the other end it has been roughly cut through by the basilica stylobate. The interest of this wall is that it shows that there were already substantial buildings on the site before the Caesareum was laid out, following exactly the same orientation. A possible reason for leaving it standing was to give stability to the enormous fill of earth and rubble that constitutes the body of the platform along the whole of this north-east side.

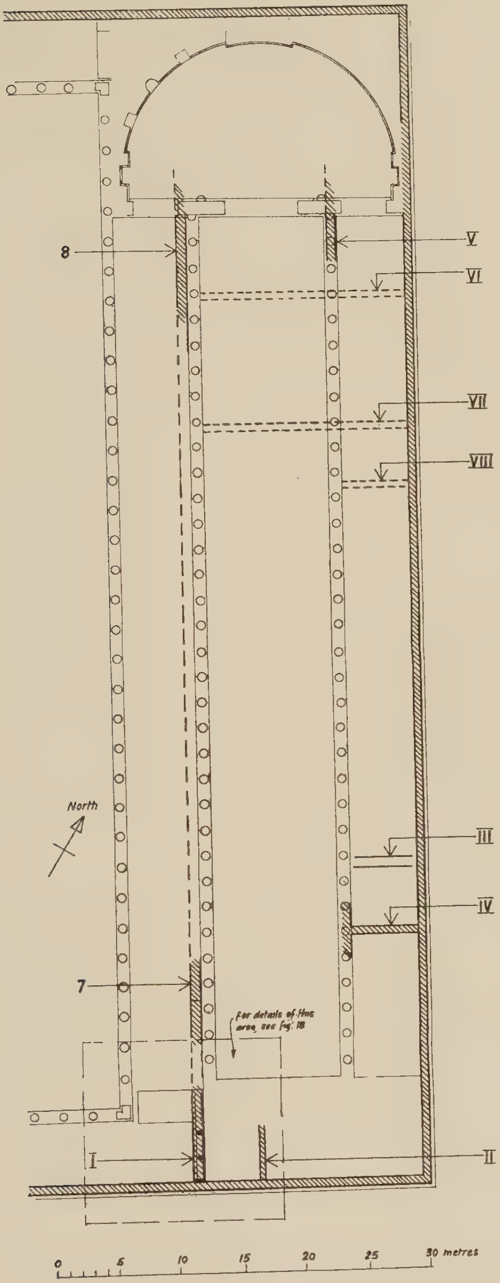
8
V
VI
VII
VIII
North
III
IV
7
For details of this area, see fig. 18
I
II
0
5
10
15
20
25
30 metres

Fig. 23. Traces of Earlier Structures within the Basilica

Parallel with the wall described in the previous paragraph and a short distance to the east of it is another early wall ("IV"), exposed in the side of a later cistern. It is built of alternate courses of headers and stretchers, averaging just under 50 cm. in height and trimmed to a rough but fairly uniform face. This wall is either contemporary with or later than the footings of the outer platform, against which it is built; at the other end the actual point of junction with the footings of the basilica stylobate is masked by the waterproof rendering of the cistern, but there can be little or no doubt that it is in fact the earlier of the two. Here, as elsewhere, the basilica footings are built of smaller blocks, far less regularly laid.

Another early wall of the same character ("V") can be seen at the north-west end of the north-east basilica colonnade, where a deep hole has been left open by the original excavators, exposing the stylobate footings down to bedrock, a total depth of just over 4 m. Of this, the upper 2.30 m. dates from the construction of the basilica and consists of 8 irregular courses of long, rather narrow blocks (average height less than 40 cm.). These rest upon the top of an earlier wall, the exposed face of which is parallel with that of the basilica stylobate but set some 30 cm. back from it. This earlier wall, four courses of which are preserved, is built of alternate courses of headers and stretchers, closely resembling wall IV; it is presumably part of the original Caesareum lay-out.

In addition to those earlier walls which are actually exposed, the positions of others may be inferred. When the building was transformed in late antiquity, a large rectangular room was laid out across the nave and the north-east aisle. This was evidently a feature of some importance, since it was paved with reused marble slabs, and it divided the area within what had been the basilical hall into two quite distinct parts. That to the south-east, towards the Vestibule, is occupied by a tangle of small rooms, cisterns, etc., and without clearance on a very large scale it is impossible to distinguish anything of what went before. The area to the north-west, on the other hand, towards the apse, appears to have been kept free of later building until a much later date, and the original paving of the nave and the north-east aisle, as well as of the apse, is still largely intact. This paving has settled, a process which may have begun while the basilica was still in use, but which would certainly have been greatly accelerated once the roof was off and the weather was free to get at the earthen fill within the platform; and in settling, it has left several prominent ridges, which must mark the line of earlier walls buried below pavement-level. One of these ridges (fig. 23, "VI") runs straight across the nave and the north-east aisle at a point corresponding roughly to the third column from the north-west end; another ("VII") crosses the north-east aisle and possibly the nave between the eighth and ninth columns; yet another ("VIII ?"; but the indications are not so clear in this case) crosses the aisle only, just short of the eleventh column. There is, of course, no certainty that all of these presumed earlier walls are contemporary, or that some of them may not belong, like wall III, to buildings that stood on the site before the Caesareum was built. But, taken together with wall V, which runs at right-angles to them and is, to judge from its masonry, of just about the right date, they constitute a considerable probability that there are substantial surviving structures of the pre-basilica phase of the Caesareum that still await excavation.

Until such excavation has taken place (a task that would involve the partial destruction of the basilica paving, the slabs of which are badly shattered by weathering) it would be unwise to speculate too closely on the form of the building that preceded the basilica. Given the slope of the ground, it might seem tempting to look for a multiple stoa built at more than one level, of the type familiar from the excavations at Assos, at Alinda, and now at Philippi. This, however, seems to be absolutely precluded both by the nature of the platform and by the survival of upstanding earlier walls within it. There is no hint of the continuous outer wall of the platform on this side being anything but an original feature. The masonry is indistinguishable from that exposed on the south-eastern and south-western faces, and the one substantial break in the continuity, that at the south corner of the cistern beneath the Vestibule, is not original, since the spacing of the isodomic masonry disregards the break, running through without interruption. It follows that the original building must all have been at one level, that of the present platform, and must all in some way or another have faced inwards towards the Quadriporticus.

The one certain fact is that along the south-west side of the original building, corresponding approximately to the south-west aisle of the later Basilica, there was a portico, completing the Quadriporticus; and that, for part at any rate of its length, the back wall of this portico was itself an open colonnade. With the reservation that excavation may still have surprises to spring, this fact is probably enough to justify the designation of the original building as some sort of a Stoa and, on the analogy of the familiar Basilica-Forum complex, to regard the Caesareum in its initial form as a Stoa-Forum or Stoa-Quadriporticus.

J. B. W. P.

APPENDIX II. THE ARCHITECTURE AND DATE OF THE TEMPLE

The nature of the superstructure of the small temple in the middle of the Caesareum at Cyrene poses something of a problem. The possible surviving elements for a reconstruction are as follows: the bottom course of the cella walls, including four slender and perfectly plain angle-pilasters, all of them still in position at the outer angles (width of pilaster, 55 cm.; projection 3 cm.); the somewhat abraded but clearly recognisable remains of the Attic bases of the two columns and two half-columns of the facade, all still in position (max. diam. 115 cm.; the profile of the scotia is unusually shallow—a characteristic feature of provincial work in local materials); several drums from the anta half-columns (diam. 81–82 cm.); one substantial and several smaller fragments of a somewhat unorthodox Corinthian capital, commensurate in scale with the column-drums and bases (estimated width across the abacus, not less than 85 cm.; height nor preserved); one very small fragment of an acanthus scroll (dimensions not ascertainable); a number of blocks carved on one face with a Doric triglyph-frieze and architrave (height, 55 cm.; average depth, 28 cm.; these were evidently intended to be used with a plain backing block); and a number of blocks of a console cornice, similar to the frieze in scale and workmanship and almost certainly to be associated with it (height, 34–36 cm.; depth 69 cm.). There is also a small Doric capital; but this out of scale with any of the other surviving features and, being a single piece, is almost certainly to be regarded as a stray.

The circumstances of the monument's later history make it impossible to be absolutely certain of the attribution to this building of any piece that is not actually still in place. On the other hand, there are grounds for believing that the temple as such may have survived to quite a late date. The cult-statue and other cult-objects were found lying within the cella, which would hardly have been the case unless it had been incorporated relatively intact into the scheme of the later barrack-building; and the absence of any trace of an alternative entablature certainly lends weight to the view that the blocks of a mixed Corinthian-Doric entablature, found reused in late antiquity and now stacked beside the building, did in fact originally come from it. There is, on the other hand, at least one very substantial objection to this view. Although the horizontal dimensions are well adapted to those of the cella wall (the greater depth of the cornice-block would have been concealed by the ceiling), they are very much shallower (height together, 90 cm.), and the detail far smaller, than the most exiguous rendering of the canonical proportions would normally be held to permit. The Corinthian elements of the façade would have looked almost grotesquely clumsy against the rather finicky detail of this entablature. On any *a priori* interpretation of the proportions of the orders, the collocation of these two features would seem, therefore, to be absolutely excluded.

As is so often the case in dealing with provincial architecture of this sort, we are faced with a dilemma that calls for a great deal more detailed comparative work on other local buildings before it can be decisively resolved. In this particular instance, however, there is good reason for believing that, whether or not this actual entablature comes from the temple, the order was in any case a mixed one, comprising a combination of both Doric and Corinthian elements, used, it may well be, with a minimum of respect for the conventional rules of architectural syntax. The crudity of the juxtaposition of the base-mouldings of the antae and of the half-columns is in itself quite enough to show that there was no serious attempt to relate the detail of the Corinthian façade to the larger setting of the building as a whole: it constituted, so to speak, a separate panel, inserted into the larger framework with little or no regard for the usual architectural niceties. The console cornice (if it belongs to this building) does, it is true, represent an element of compromise; but in all other respects the surviving remains, other than these of the actual façade, suggest an architectural solution on traditional local lines, closely comparable in fact to the exterior elevation of the Caesareum itself. Anything in the nature of a Corinthian capital to the angle-pilasters seems to be absolutely excluded both by their slender, shallow proportions and by the extreme simplicity of the base-moulding. The only logical complement to the latter would seem to be that which we find on the outer façade of the Caesareum, namely a simple fillet projecting from, but continuous with, the horizontal moulding immediately below the triglyphs of a Doric frieze. In other words, were it not for the Corinthian elements in the façade, one would never have considered restoring this building on any but traditional Doric lines. In fig. 8 it has seemed wiser to omit the controversial element of the surviving mixed entablature and to show in outline a Doric entablature of more canonical proportions. In either case, whether it was the surviving console entablature or a lost Doric entablature, there can be little doubt that the building was a mixed one, incorporating elements both of the Corinthian and of the Doric orders. Another element which is omitted from fig. 8, but which may have belonged, is the fragment of acanthus-scroll frieze. One would certainly not put it beyond the architect to have incorporated this element too, framed between the angle-triglyphs of the façade.

Is such a solution credible within the known setting of the architecture of the Roman period in Cyrenaica? Any attempt to answer this question must be prefaced by a warning against trying to apply to a provincial architecture *a priori* reasoning based on the conventional canons of classical architecture. This is particularly true at a period such as this, when a long-established and remarkably conservative local tradition was breaking down under the impact of fresh ideas coming from without. In this case, the disturbing factors were very various. Already during the first century A.D. we find the simple austerities of the local Doric tradition giving place sporadically to a more elegant and elaborate style of building, of which the so-called Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais (Tolmetta) is the best-preserved and best-published example (G. Pesce, *Il "Palazzo delle Colonne" in Tolemaide di Cirenaica*, Rome, 1950. The date proposed by Pesce is impossibly early, and may even be as late as the Flavian period; A. v. Gerkan, *Gnomon*, 1951, pp. 337–340). Not only did this style employ the three traditional orders in a number of fanciful combinations and with a variety of novel embellishments, but the architectural detail has a new and rather finicky elegance (characterised in particular by a fondness for deeply-cut, incised lines) which relates it at once to the controversial console-cornice of the Caesareum temple. On the whole, however, this particular style, in which it is probably not altogether fanciful to see a reflection of the elegance and luxury of contemporary domestic architecture in Alexandria, does not seem to have made much headway at Cyrene itself. There are scattered pieces to be seen here and there in the domestic quarters (e.g. an arcuated lintel in the House of the Dionysus Mosaic), and it is echoed, though not in its most extravagant form, in the largest and richest of the houses so far excavated, the so-called House of Jason Magnus (shortly to be published by the Italian Archaeological Mission). It seems, however, to have been more at home at Ptolemais, where the recent American excavations have revealed further examples, and at Tocra, where a pre-war *sondage* by Caputo revealed the angle of a courtyard closely akin stylistically to the 'Palazzo delle Colonne.'

The intrusion of this possibly Alexandrian style was only one of several disturbing factors. Another was the appearance at Cyrene and elsewhere in the province of imported marble-work from the quarries in the Aegean provinces. The first attested example is in the frigidarium of the large public bath-building in the Sanctuary of Apollo, built by Trajan and restored by Hadrian after the Jewish Revolt. Though to modern eyes conventional to the point of banality, the impact of this style on contemporary architectural taste was startling. By the end of the second century, as Goodchild's recent excavations have shown, this had become the standard monumental style in use at Cyrene both in marble and in local stone, almost completely ousting Doric from monumental use. This is a phenomenon already familiar in other provinces (e.g. in Tripolitania; *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxix, 1949, p. 95), but in this particular case it derives added emphasis from the extreme conservatism of the first-century architecture which it displaced.

Yet another factor, this time peculiar to Cyrene, was the destruction caused by the Jewish Revolt and the widespread work of restoration undertaken by Hadrian. Some of the most important buildings, such as the Temple of Apollo and the Caesareum itself, were restored in the traditional manner. Others were rebuilt in a style that reflects the importation of foreign ideas and possibly even (since the number of buildings needing repair was very large) of foreign workmen, one of the most striking novelites being the substitution of the Corinthian order for the familiar Doric. This is very well illustrated in a group of buildings near the Agora, no less than four of which have Corinthian façades—the Prytaneum and the building immediately to the left of it, a temple on the north side of the street a short distance to the east (distinguished by the octagonal bases of the façade columns), and a second temple nearby, which contains a mosaic of the Muses (the order of this temple includes a frieze of acanthus scroll-work). All of these buildings appear to have been damaged during the Revolt and restored soon afterwards, and the Prytaneum is of particular interest in the present context, since not only is the masonry of the podium very similar to that of the temple in the Caesareum, being built of regular courses of quite small blocks (between 31 and 34 cm. in height), but the columns of the façade are similarly set *in antis*, ending in half-columns against the inner faces of the ends of the two flanking walls.

The immediate architectural consequences of the Jewish Revolt were greatly to accelerate changes that might otherwise have taken place over a period of several decades or even of generations. In these decidedly artificial conditions, not all of the new ideas were at once fully assimilated and understood. The temple in the Caesareum makes excellent sense if we regard it as an addition of Hadrianic or early Antonine date, incorporating important elements of the new monumental style, but still feeling the need to compromise with the forces of a long-established and still venerable tradition.

J. B. W. P.

VENICE AND THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF RHODES IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY[*]

In Gentile Bellini's painting of a Venetian *festa* a knight of the Order of St. John stands alone in the Piazza of San Marco. He is dressed in a black cloak adorned with the eight-pointed cross of the Hospitallers and is attended by a single page. The ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries of the Republic file solemnly past; but he has no part in the ceremony and his posture suggests an awareness that the presence of the Order was resented.[1] For two centuries both Venice and the Hospitallers were among the foremost opponents of the Turks in the Mediterranean, but a deep antipathy existed between them. Allies by force of circumstance, their attitudes towards the infidels were in strong contrast and united action often became impossible. On the one side, were traditional elements in Venetian policy, the pre-eminence of trading interests, independence of the church and an opportunist exploitation of crusading ideals; on the other, the Hospitallers' alliance with Venice's greatest rival, Genoa.

The Hospital's Priory of Venice was founded in the twelfth century and by the fourteenth included houses in many parts of Emilia and the Romagna, mostly outside Venetian territory.[2] Occasionally the Republic was involved in the affairs of the Priory and in 1312 the Doge recognised the Order's rights to the property of the dissolved Order of the Temple, agreeing to assist in obtaining possession of it.[3] But such matters were relatively unimportant and the Priory played little part in

[*] The following are the principal abbreviations used in this article:

Malta, cod. = *Royal Malta Library; Archives of the Order of St. John*, Codex, no.

Misti = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Misti del Senato* (the originals).

Acta Cand. = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Duca di Candia; Acta cancellarie Candide* (reference by date).

Cons. Cand. = *Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Duca di Candia; Decisiones captae in Majori Consilio insule Candie*, 1344–1362.

Delaville, *Rhodes* = J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac*, 1310–1421 (Paris, 1913).

Delaville, *Orient* = J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886).

Commemoriali = *I libri Commemoriali della Republica di Venezia, Regesti*, i–iii, ed. R. Predelli (Venice, 1876–1883).

Dip. Or. Cat. = *Diplomatari de l'orient català*, 1301–1409, ed. A. Rubió i Lluch (Barcelona, 1947).

Dip. Ven. Lev. = *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, 2 vols., ed. G. M. Thomas (Venice, 1880–1899).

Régestes = *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, i, 1329–1399, ed. F. Thiriet (Paris-Hague, 1958).

Giomo, Misti = G. Giomo, *I 'Misti' del Senato della Republica Veneta*, 1293–1331 (Venice, 1887).

Noiret, *Créte* = *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de* 1380 *à* 1485, ed. H. Noiret (Paris, 1892).

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[1] 'La processione in Piazza San Marco,' in the Accademia at Venice, was painted in 1494.

[2] G. Sommi-Picenardi, 'Del Gran Priorato dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano in Venezia,' in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s. vii (1892); E. W. Schermerhorn, 'Notes on the Commanderies of the Grand Priory of Venice,' in *Archivum Melitense*, ix (1934).

[3] Delaville, *Rhodes*, p. 40, n. 2.

Venetian relations with Rhodes.[4] Its members and Priors were rarely, if ever, Venetians, for the merchant oligarchy of Venice did not mix with the knightly aristocracy of Rhodes;[5] they were probably forbidden to enter the Order.[6] Their rivalry was centred in the Aegean where the island of Rhodes, with its safe harbour, lay in a strategic position within sight of the Turkish coast. A fourteenth century traveller wrote of it: 'This isle of Rhodes is an exceeding precious one, being mountainous, and standing in a very healthy air, abounding in wild animals called fallow-deer. Furthermore, from whatever part of the sea you sail you must pass by or near Rhodes. In this isle there is a city named Rhodes, exceeding beauteous and strong, with high walls and impregnable towers built of such great stones that it is a wonder how human hands can have laid them in their place.'[7]

As early as 1234 the Venetians had attempted to establish themselves at Rhodes but were ousted by the Greeks and Genoese[8]; at the beginning of the fourteenth century Venetian adventurers were occupying some of the surrounding islands, although Rhodes remained in the Genoese sphere of influence. In October 1302, Kos (Lango), to the north of Rhodes, was apparently under Venetian control[9], and the efforts of individual Venetians to acquire for themselves a semi-independent island lordship continued, despite an agreement at this time to return various islands to Byzantium.[10] Some time before July 1306, Jacopo Barozzi made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Nisyros, between Rhodes and Kos,[11] and in 1307 the Senate decreed that Venetian officials should not intervene in any island except on behalf of the Republic.[12] In June 1306, the Hospitallers and their Genoese ally, Vignolo de Vignoli, began their siege of Rhodes and at the same time two Hospitallers with fifty men captured Kos but were unable to maintain themselves there.[13] Yet some time after July 1307 the Venetians in Crete were considering the acquisition of Rhodes[14]; in 1309 the Venetian, Andrea Cornaro, held Scarpanto,

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[4] This is clear from the documents both of the Republic and of the Order. Those of the Priory of Venice are now preserved in the Priory of the Order at Venice, but they contain little of interest for the general history of the Order in this period. The registers of the Masters from Rhodes (*libri bullarum*) each contains a section devoted to the Priory; there are registers for the years 1346 (a fragment), 1347, 1351, 1358, 1365, 1374, 1381–1386, 1389–1396, 1399 *et seq.* (*Malta*, cod. 316 *et seq.*). The archives of the Order are described in J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, i (Paris, 1894), pp. xiv–xxvii, cxx–cxxv.

[5] For the Priors see Sommi-Picenardi, *Del Gran Priorato*, pp. 104, 142–145; Delaville, *Rhodes*, *passim*; below, p. 209. Two Levantine Venetians, Marino and Perulli Sanuto, sons of the Duke of the Archipelago, were received as 'confratres' or lay members of the Order on 17 April 1347 (*Malta*, cod. 317, f. 232) but did not enter the Order as stated by K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf die neuere Zeit*, i (= J. S. Ersch—J. G. Gruber, *Allgemeine Enc. der Wissenschaften und Künste*, lxxxv; Leipzig, 1867), p. 463, and L. de Mas-Latrie, 'Les ducs de l'Archipel ou des Cyclades,' in *Miscellania della R. Diputazione veneta sopra gli studi di storia patria*, iv (Venice, 1887), p. 6. Other important Venetians accepted as 'confratres' were Marco Gradenigo, probably from Crete, in 1351, and Marino Pisano in 1358 (*Malta*, Cod. 318, f. 155 v; 316, f. 233).

[6] An old law preventing citizens from accepting offices or commands in lands not subject to the Republic was reasserted on 27 Nov. 1356 (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*; *Deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio*; *Novella*, f. 60).

[7] *Ludolph von Suchem's description of the Holy Land and of the way thither*, trans., A. Stewart (London, 1895), p. 34.

[8] G. Heyd, *Storia del commercio del Levante nel Medio Evo* (Turin, 1913), pp. 321–322.

[9] ‘Ιστορικὰ κρητικὰ ἔγγραφα: Θεσπίσματα τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας, 1281–1385, i, ed. S. Theotokis (= Acta et decreta Consilii Rogatorum Venetiarum res Creticas illustrantia, 1281–1385; Athens, 1936), p. 21 (30 Oct. 1302).

[10] *Dip. Ven. Lev.*, i, pp. 12–16 (4 Oct. 1302), 16–19 (confirmation of 7 Mar. 1303); Venice was to retain Zia, Seriphos, Santorin and Amorgos.

[11] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*; *Deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio*, *Capricornus*; f. 122 (9 July 1306).

[12] Giomo, *Misti*, p. 27.

[13] J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre*, 1100–1310 (Paris, 1904), pp. 273–279.

[14] Giomo, *Misti*, p. 58.

Saria and Kasso, between Rhodes and Crete[15]; and early in 1310 the Venetians were still defending Kos against the claims of the Order.[16] When the Hospitallers' fleet sailed from Italy to complete the conquest of Rhodes at the beginning of 1310, the Venetians followed its movements carefully and took elaborate precautions to defend Crete and other Aegean possessions, for they had received reports that the Hospitallers intended to attack them.[17]

The Venetians' fears were justified for, although on his way East the Master of the Hospital had assured them of the safety of their possessions,[18] within a few years the Order had taken not only Rhodes but Kos, Scarpanto, Saria, Kasso and various other islands.[19] The Venetians were always reluctant to acquire new possessions and obligations and their concern was probably not so much with their territorial loss as with the wider strategic implications of the establishment of the Order as an independent power in control of a port of some importance to their sea communications. Venice's prosperity largely depended on the maintenance of its Levantine trade, and the presence at Rhodes of the Genoese, who used the post as a commercial and naval base, and the assistance they were afforded as allies of the Order, ensured Venetian hostility towards the Hospitallers[20]. And in May 1310 the Venetians had already raised the question of the Hospitallers' duties of preventing illegal Christian trading in war materials with the infidels of Egypt and Syria, another point of importance to Venice which was probably to aggravate this hostility.[21] The way in which these jealousies and conflicts of interest led first to quarrels and acts of obstruction which impeded their co-operation in the Levant, and then to open hostility and violence which made united action almost impossible, is the central theme of the relations between the Republic and the Hospitallers in this period.

Its expulsion from the Holy Land and the loss of its possessions there considerably weakened the Order, both morally and materially. The island of Rhodes provided almost no men or money, while during the years following its conquest the Hospitallers faced many problems in Europe as well as those of its establishment at Rhodes. The Order's chief purpose was to become that of opposing the Turks, but during the early fourteenth century there was little crusading activity and the independent and piratical Turkish emirs who ruled the provinces of Asia Minor constituted a nuisance rather than a great danger in the Aegean. Even so the Order was weak, especially in seapower, and could do little to oppose the Turks without assistance, which was only forthcoming from the Venetians when their own interests were involved. In 1328 the Latins lost the important port of Smyrna in Asia Minor to the Turks and henceforth the Venetians took the lead in a series of alliances in which the Hospitallers participated. Smyrna was recaptured in 1344, but Turkish piracy continued to flourish while the Venetians first quarrelled with the Hospitallers and Genoese, and then indulged in a full-scale war with Genoa. The Latin league was revived in 1356, but by then the Ottoman Turks were advancing into Europe and the task of restraining Turkish piracy in the Aegean was replaced by the need to sustain Byzantium and to oppose large Ottoman armies in the Balkans.

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[15] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia; Deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio, presbiter*; f. 4 (8 Jan. 1309).

[16] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Lettere di Collegio rectius Minor Consiglio*, 1308–1310; f. 69 (7 Feb. 1310). For Venetian activities in these islands see K. Hopf, 'Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien; Philosophisch-historische Classe*, xxxii (1860), *passim*; but Hopf is scarcely justified in using the above evidence to maintain (p. 480) that Venice tried in every way to prevent the Hospitallers acquiring Rhodes.

[17] *Lettere di Collegio*, f. 63–64v (29 Nov. 1309), 67v (14 Jan. 1310), 69–69v (7 Feb. 1310).

[18] *Lettere di Collegio*, f. 83–83v (13 May 1310).

[19] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 3–5.

[20] C. Jona, 'Genova e Rodi agli albori del Renascimento,' in *Atti della società ligure di storia patria*, lxiv (1935). N. Iorga, 'Rhodes sous les Hospitaliers,' in *Revue historique du Sud-est européen*, viii (1931), pp. 79–80 even suggested that the Genoese played so important a part in the conquest of Rhodes that it became, in effect, their colony.

[21] *Lettere di Collegio*, f. 83–83v (13 May 1310); cf. Giomo, *Misti*, p. 128.

At this time the Hospitallers abandoned to the Venetians the defence of Byzantium and the Aegean and took part in the Cypriot expeditions whose greatest achievement was the temporary occupation of Alexandria in 1365. It seems possible that a party among the Knights was dissatisfied with the Order's minor defensive rôle and its subordination to the interests of Venice, Genoa, Cyprus or the Papacy. It may have been planned to acquire a new base which would provide the Order with a more grandiose strategic function and with the resources in men and money necessary to execute it. The transfer of the Order to Greece, whence it could have undertaken the defence of the Balkans, would have fulfilled these conditions. Such a plan, if it did exist, would explain the obscure but persistent attempts made by the Order, from 1349 onwards, to establish itself in Greece.[22] The Venetians, however, already had vital interests in Greece and the Hospitallers' failure to achieve any permanent success there was partly due to Venetian obstruction. Towards the end of the century increasingly strained relations between Venice and the Order impeded their effective co-operation against the Ottomans who continued their advance into Greece and the Balkans.

Despite these rivalries, men, money and materials reached Rhodes from Venice, often on Venetian ships, throughout the century, and the Venetians used Rhodes as a port of call for their boats and a minor trading station. Except for one serious breach in the middle of the century, their fluctuating political relations with the Order apparently had little effect on the comparatively small Venetian commerce and merchant community at Rhodes.[23] In 1310 a Venetian boat sailed for the island from Modon in Greece, and in the following year a Venetian merchant, travelling on a Genoese boat to Crete, purchased some pepper in Rhodes.[24] Venetian spice galleys sailing to Cyprus, Syria and Egypt, by way of the Venetian colony of Crete, occasionally called at Rhodes, sometimes to await news that it was safe to proceed.[25] In 1372 the Venetians sent a ship there to warn their galleys of danger from the Genoese, and next year a galley was ordered to visit Rhodes on its return journey in order to collect Venetian merchants or merchandise awaiting transport. In 1385 it was decreed that all goods for Rhodes should travel from Venice on the Beirut galleys,[26] and by the end of the century something of the sort had become the regular practice.[27] Rhodes was always a base for Venetian merchants;[28] by 1374 there was a Venetian consul there[29] and in 1376 the brothers Federigo and Marco Cornaro had factors there dealing in sugar.[30] In 1396 a Venetian from Negroponte, established at Rhodes, was trading in Constantinople and at Ragusa on the Dalmatian coast,[31] while Venetian boats traded between Crete, Rhodes and the Turkish ports of Altoluogo and Palacio (Ephesus and Miletus).[32]

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[22] This theory, advanced in Iorga, *Rhodes*, *passim*, finds further confirmation in works and documents cited below.

[23] The economic and political aspects of this subject have been kept clearly separate, since the evidence provides no more than a general outline of economic relations between Venice and Rhodes and there is no statistical framework which can be related to particular political events.

[24] *Commemoriali*, i, pp. 211, 109.

[25] Giomo, *Misti*, p. 70 (1325–1326); *Misti*, xxvi, f. 34 (1350); xxxiii, f. 83–84v (1370); xxxv, f. 118v (1376); and below, *passim*.

[26] *Misti*, xxxiv, f. 27v (1372), 66 (1373); xxxix, f. 90 (1385).

Marseilles and Genoa were more important as centres of the Order's communications with Europe, but Venice's position made it by no means negligible as an embarkation point, not only for expeditions[33] but also for goods and monies destined for Rhodes. The complaints aroused by the Venetian refusal to allow the transport of war materials through Venice in 1366 showed how important the route was to Cyprus and Rhodes.[34] Hospitallers travelled on Venetian ships[35] and, in about 1358, the Order acquired a new hospice in Venice.[36] In 1309 the Hospital was building six galleys in the arsenals at Venice for a projected Crusade; a century later, in 1402, the Republic was sending war materials to Rhodes.[37] On another occasion permission was granted for the Prior of Hungary to send a number of oars from Zara, on the Dalmatian coast, to Rhodes in a Venetian ship he had hired.[38] In 1312 the Peruzzi of Florence were transferring monies from Venice to Rhodes for the Order and two years later were handling monies of the Hospital deposited in Venice on their way from Germany to Florence.[39] In August 1358, the monies from Germany, Bohemia and Hungary were to be paid to two Venetian merchants and in 1374 monies raised for a crusade were to be kept at Venice; but on almost every such occasion the money was handled by Florentines.[40] Later during the Great Schism in the church, monies were sent directly to Rhodes on the Beirut galleys. The Prior of England sent 7,000 ducats in 1389 and a further 8,000 in 1391; a sum of 8,500 ducats from the Order followed in 1395.[41] There is scarcely a hint of any Venetian lending money to the Hospital, as merchants of other nations did;[42] an exception was Antonio Contarini, a Venetian merchant established at Rhodes, who did lend money to the Order.[43]

An irregular trade, subject to discriminatory taxation at both ends, moved between Venice and Rhodes in the ships of both, but mainly in those of the Republic.

[27] Delaville, *Orient*, ii, p. 97.

[28] Docs. of 1319–1320 (Dip. Ven. Lev., i, pp. 126–127); 1325–1326 (Giomo, *Misti*, p. 136); 1388 (Noiret, *Crète*, p. 20); 1403 (Delaville, *Orient*, ii, p. 132).

[29] *Commemoriali*, iii, p. 117; further notices of a consul in 1395 (*Misti*, xliii, f. 52v–53); 1403 (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, i–ii (Paris, 1899), i, p. 108); 1407 (Noiret, *Crète*, p. 181).

[30] *Misti*, xxxv, f. 110v.

[31] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, ii, p. 79, n. 2.

[32] Heyd, *Commercio*, pp. 558–64.

[33] Delaville, *Rhodes*, p. 140; below, p. 207.

[34] *Commemoriali*, iii, p. 51.

[35] Giomo, *Misti*, p. 131 (1331–1332); *Misti*, xvii, f. 52v (1336); xxxvi, f. 52v (1378).

[36] Sommi-Picenardi, *Del Gran Priorato*, pp. 108–109.

[37] Delaville, *Orient*, i, p. 412; ii, pp. 3–6, 97.

[38] *Listine o odnosajih izmedju juznoga slavenstva i mletacke republike*, ed. S. Ljubic (= Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, ii–iv; Zagreb, 1870–1874), ii, p. 253 (1345).

[39] *Commemoriali*, i, pp. 120–121 (1312); 143–144 (1314).

[40] *Malta*, cod. 316, f. 227v–228, 233v, 234–234v (1358); cod. 320v, f. 41–42 (1374). The Priory of Venice repaid money to the Bardi of Florence in 1339 and paid money to the Alberti of Florence in 1374 (*Arch. del Priorato di Venezia*, in filze 101).

[41] *Misti*, xli, f. 32v (1389); xlii, f. 22 (1391); xliii, f. 78v (1395).

[42] See A. T. Luttrell, 'Actividades económicas de los Hospitalarios de Rodas en el Mediterráneo occidental durante el siglo XIV,' due to appear shortly in *Actas del VI Congreso de la Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (held at Cagliari in 1957).

[43] *Malta*, cod. 48, f. 96, 200v–201; cod. 322, f. 312v–313 (1383–1384).

Thus on one occasion special permission had to be obtained to land at Venice a quantity of sugar which had been loaded at Rhodes on a boat returning from Syria.[44] Sugar came not only from Rhodes but also from the estates of the Order in Cyprus.[45] Another commodity in demand was alum, in search of which two Venetians set out in 1365 for Rhodes and Turkey. In 1377 Antonio Contarini received special permission to import a cargo of wax from Rhodes into Venice. Earlier, in 1354 and 1355, galleys of the Order were permitted, despite a decree of 1347, to import rare spices, sugar, wax, incense and precious fabrics into Venice on payment of a ten-per cent duty.[46] In 1405, quantities of cloth and wax were loaded at Rhodes on the galleys sailing from Syria to Venice.[47]

In the other direction cloth, perhaps from Venice, left Crete for Rhodes.[48] In 1374 some German cloth for the use of the Knights was allowed to leave Venice on a ship of the Order, and a few years later a Hospitaller took some cloth and five saddles to Rhodes on a Beirut galley; on each occasion a tax had to be paid in Venice.[49] In 1332, a Hospitaller was carrying armour, possibly from Venice, from Crete to Rhodes in a Cretan ship, and in 1333, two Venetians were licensed to export a shipment of *ferri* from Candia to Rhodes;[50] in 1383 Antonio Contarini supplied a quantity of nails for the construction of a new galley at Rhodes.[51] A considerable trade in slaves is suggested by the names of many of the slaves at Rhodes[52] and, in about 1320, there were Byzantine complaints that the Venetians were selling Greek slaves from the Morea in Rhodes, and even that the Order's galleys were participating in the trade.[53] Later the process was reversed and in 1391 the Venetian Senate, acting upon complaints from Rhodes, ordered that galleys returning from Syria should not carry off slaves or servants from the island.[54]

Venetian trade with Turkish ports often passed through Rhodes. In September 1334, two Venetians left Candia, the principal port of Crete, with a cargo which they intended to discharge at Rhodes, before continuing their journey to Palacio on the mainland; a month later a galley carrying wine for Rhodes sailed from Crete with similar intentions of continuing its voyage to Palacio.[55] Later, in 1403, there is a notice of a Cretan citizen of Rhodes arriving in Rhodes from Palacio.[56] Many boats bound for or leaving Rhodes, such as a Rhodian boat arriving from Rhodes on which a Florentine merchant was conveying horses in 1347, called at Candia.[57] Crete was in its turn a market for Rhodian merchants, such as the Jew who in 1352 purchased some sugar there from a Catalan trader,[58] while Venetian ships brought Cypriot salt from Rhodes to Crete,[59] and grain, cheese[60] and especially wine[61] were sent from Crete to Rhodes. In 1358 the Order imported wheat into Rhodes to the value of 6,500 besants of Cyprus through a Venetian merchant.[62] In order to obtain a licence to leave Candia for Rhodes, or for the Hospital's island of Kos with which the Cretans also traded, merchants had to have a guarantor in Crete and to promise not to carry slaves or villeins. In a ten-month period in 1356 at least twenty-seven such licences to leave for Rhodes were granted to Venetian or Rhodian merchants, some of whom received several licences during this period and ran a regular service between the islands.[63]

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[44] *Misti*, xxxv, f. 110v (1376).

[45] Heyd, *Commercio*, pp. 1269–1271.

[46] *Misti*, xxxi, f. 57v (1364); xxxvi, f. 2 (1377); xxvii, f. 6 (1354), 38v (1355).

[47] J. Heers, 'Il commercio nel Mediterraneo alla fine del secolo XIV e nei primi anni del XV,' in *Archivio storico italiano*, cxiii (1955), p. 168.

[48] *Acta Cand.*, 18 July 1359.

[49] *Misti*, xxxiv, f. 104 (1374); xxxvii, f. 97v (1382).

[50] *Acta Cand.*, 28 Dec. 1332; 14 May 1333.

[51] *Malta*, cod. 48, f. 200–200v.

[52] Amongst those freed between 1347 and 1352 were Giorgio de Negroponte, Micali de Athena, Cristodolo de lo Sicamino, Nicola Grossero de Saloniqua and Giorgio de Dispotato (*Malta*, cod. 317, f. 226v, 239v, 241v; cod. 318, f. 213, 219).

[53] *Dip. Ven. Lev.*, i, pp. 125–127.

[54] *Misti*, xlii, f. 23v.

[55] *Acta Cand.*, 19 Sept., 6 Oct. 1334; cf. below, pp. 204–5.

[56] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, i, p. 107.

[57] *Cons. Cand.*, f. 28.

[58] *Dip. Or. Cat.*, p. 271; cf. Noiret, *Crète*, p. 166 (1406).

[59] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*; *Deliberazione del Maggior Consiglio*; *Novella*; f. 163 (22 July 1375).

[60] Noiret, *Crète*, pp. 225, 230 (1414).

[61] *Misti*, xxxi, f. 61 (7 May 1364), on this occasion the wine was sent by rebels during the great revolt in Crete; below, p. 201.

In 1346 some sort of special customs duty was applied to Venetian commerce in Rhodes. What lay behind this is not clear, but on 28 December the Consiglio Maggiore at Candia despatched an envoy to protest against this infraction of what it claimed to be the liberties and franchises customarily enjoyed by Venetian merchants in the territories of the Order. He was to invoke the aid of the Dauphin, Humbert de Viennois, then at Rhodes and, if need be, to order all Venetian citizens in Rhodes to leave the island with their goods and to threaten an embargo on all trade with the Order.[64] His mission failed and the embargo was applied.[65] But apparently it defeated its own ends, for in August 1349 the Venetian Senate was faced with a protest from Crete; it seems that the prohibition applied only to the merchants of Crete whose trade, especially in wine, was suffering. They demanded that the embargo be extended to all Venetian subjects or abolished. On 18 August the Senate agreed that discrimination against the Cretans was unjust and, considering it unwise in view of the difficulties of navigation in those parts to forbid all Venetian shipping to visit Rhodes, decided to allow the resumption of trade with Rhodes, on condition that until the restrictions at Rhodes were lifted similar ones were to be imposed on the ships and merchandise of the Order or of its subjects reaching Crete.[66]

Venetian commerce in Rhodes never equalled that of its rivals. The riches of the Order lay in France, Spain and England; its economic and administrative centre in the West was in Southern France, and so it was the merchants of the Western Mediterranean who found favour at Rhodes. Not only Genoese but Florentines, Sicilians, Provençals and, at the end of the century, Catalans, were established in Rhodes, while the traders of Narbonne and Montpellier enjoyed exceptional privileges there.[67] But, as the Senate's decision of 1349 indicated, Rhodes had a minor importance to the Venetians as a centre of Cretan trade, while they placed more value on the possibility of using its harbour, especially in cases of emergency, than on the limited amount of trade they did there. In sharp contrast to their fluctuating political understandings, these economic contacts between Venice and Rhodes formed, throughout the period, a relatively continuous and stable element in their relations.

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[62] *Malta*, cod. 316, f. 336–336v.

[63] Licences, which often include the number and even the names of the sailors on the ship, in *Acta Cand.*; this ten-month period (Busta, 10, parte II bis; not in index) is exceptional, for the documents are ill-preserved and difficult to use statistically. Candian notarial documents should provide more information about Rhodes; see M. Abrate, 'Creta, colonia veneziana nei secoli XIII–XV,' in *Economia e storia*, iv (1957).

[64] *Cons. Cand.*, f. 20–20v.

[65] *Cons. Cand.*, f. 21v, 32v; possibly the decree of 1347 referred to in 1354 (see above, p. 200); cf. *Régestes*, no. 207 (15 Jan. 1348).

[66] *Misti*, xxv, f. 43v–44; a shortened text of this decree in E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 57.

[67] Luttrell, *Actividades económicas*, *passim*.

In the political sphere the Venetians were not slow to become aware of the discrimination shown against them at Rhodes or to retaliate against the Order.[68] They seem to have gained some small compensation for their losses when the Hospitaller, Januli da Corogna, who in 1307 established himself on the island of Siphanto, later abandoned the Order and sought Venetian protection.[69] In 1313 the Doge refused to allow the Order to sell indulgences for a new crusade in Venice, and in 1312 and 1314 he sequestrated monies of the Order on a legal pretext, causing a quarrel which was still being composed in 1317.[70] In 1314, Venice sent an embassy to Rhodes to protest against the seizure of a Venetian galley[71] and in the same year it was agreed, after long negotiations, to submit to Papal arbitration the dispute over Scarpanto, Saria and Kasso, which the Hospitallers had seized from Andrea Cornaro, to whom they were later returned.[72] After this relations improved; in 1324, following a long dispute, compensation was received by the Order for a galley taken by the Venetians[73] and, although further quarrels arose,[74] there are from this time signs of Venetian trade at Rhodes and of a movement towards joint action against the Turks.[75]

Favours shown to their enemies continued to produce vigorous Venetian protests and acts of violence, often followed by lawsuits. There were complaints in 1329 that Sicilian and other pirates were being sheltered at Rhodes.[76] In 1351, during the war between Venice and Genoa, four Genoese galleys escaped from Negroponte and took refuge at Rhodes, where they found five more Genoese galleys from Chios.[77] The Venetians protested to the Master against the assistance afforded to their enemies and demanded Papal intervention.[78] To the Pope's injunctions to neutrality the Hospitallers replied that, while the Order was impartial, complete neutrality was impossible and that, if many Hospitallers were partisans of Genoa, others supported Venice.[79] During 1353 and 1354 there were Venetian attacks on Hospitallers and their possessions and on neutral merchants under the protection of the Order; long quarrels over compensation for damages ensued.[80] In July 1378 the Venetians pillaged a Genoese spice ship in Rhodian waters and in the following year captured a large Genoese vessel at Rhodes.[81] In 1402, they in their turn were demanding compensation for damages caused in a Genoese assault on a Venetian ship forced into Rhodes by a storm while returning from Syria.[82]

It was the increasingly aggressive Turkish threat to their whole Levantine commerce which forced the Venetians to forget their local trading interests. In

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[68] Delaville, *Rhodes*, p. 3, however, claimed that Venice was glad to acquire a neighbour who would police the waters of the Levant.

[69] K. Hopf, 'Di alcune dinastie latine nella Grecia,' in *Archivio veneto*, xxxi (1886), pp. 162–163, but without an exact date or reliable source.

[70] *Commemoriali*, i, pp. 120–121 (1312), 127 (1313), 143–144 (1314); Giomo, *Misti*, pp. 128 (1314–1315?), 133 (1317).

[71] The affair of Pantaleone Michele; see *Commoriali*, i, pp. 140, 145; Giomo, *Misti*, pp. 10, 133.

[72] *Commemoriali*, i, pp. 140, 145, 149, 158; Giomo, *Misti*, pp. 28, 58, 128; cf. Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 3–4. Iorga, *Rhodes*, p. 80 suggests that the Genoese inspired the attack on these islands. According to Hopf, *Analekten*, pp. 463, 466 (using unreliable sources) the exiled Venetian revolutionary, Niccolò Quirini, took refuge at Rhodes in 1310 and his son Giovanni joined him there before setting out to reconquer his family's island of Stamphalia.

[73] Giomo, *Misti*, pp. 30, 33, 134, 157 (1319–1320); *Commemoriali*, i, pp. 256–260(1324).

[74] Giomo, *Misti*, pp. 70 (1325?), 131 (1331).

[75] Above, p. 200.

[76] *Dip. Or. Cat.*, pp. 175–176.

[77] Antonio Morosini, *Cronica veneta*, part i (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice; coll. 8331), f. 86.

[78] Giovanni Giacopo Caroldo, *Historie venete dal principio della città fino all'anno* 1382 (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice; coll. 8639), f. 209, 210.

[79] Delaville, *Rhodes*, p. 112.

[80] *Commemoriali*, ii, pp. 227, 264, 277, 293–294.

[81] Caroldo, *Historie venete*, f. 405, 423v.

[82] *Commemoriali*, iii, p. 290.

1319 the Hospitallers won a naval victory against the Turks from Altoluogo, Palacio and elsewhere who were making minor but damaging incursions in the Aegean and on the Greek mainland. But only in 1327, when Smyrna was in danger of falling to Umur, Emir of Aydin, the most powerful of the Turkish lords, did the Venetians become sufficiently apprehensive to open negotiations for a league against him with the Order, the Byzantines and even their Genoese enemy, Martino Zaccaria, lord of Chios. Nothing was achieved and Smyrna fell to Umur, but Venetian diplomacy remained active. In 1332 it secured an agreement that a combined Byzantine, Rhodian and Venetian fleet would assemble in the following year, but in 1333 an insurrection in Crete delayed operations and the Venetians even considered making a truce with the Turks. In 1334 Pope John XXII and the Kings of France and Cyprus joined the league. The Latin fleet assembled but after achieving some successes against the Turks dispersed again, and only the Hospitallers and the Cypriots participated in an unsuccessful attack on Smyrna at the end of the year. With the death of John XXII in December 1334 the union collapsed. Turkish piracy continued and the Venetian initiative, concerned only with the protection of its own interests, had secured nothing of lasting value.[83]

In the next ten years little was attempted. The new Pope, Benedict XII, was unenthusiastic and the Turkish attacks continued. The Venetians proposed a renewal of action in 1336, but in May the Pope refused financial aid. On 6 June they suggested to the Hospitallers the formation of a joint fleet since they themselves, they alleged, were unable to meet all the necessary expenses.[84] Venetian and Rhodian ships did assemble, but there was no support from the West and apparently they attempted nothing.[85] A new union, which in 1344 captured Smyrna, owed its success mainly to the vigorous activity of Pope Clement VI, elected in 1342.[86] Rhodes itself was in little danger, and the Hospitallers, who had fallen into idleness and corruption, received weighty threats from Clement VI,[87] while the Venetians, although suspicious of the intentions of the Genoese Captain of the league, Martino Zaccaria, gave their full support to an attack on the principal base for Turkish pirates operating between Rhodes, Lesbos and Crete.[88] Cypriot and Papal forces joined them in an action which produced the most positive and lasting success achieved by Latin co-operation in the Levant during the fourteenth century.

The defence of recaptured Smyrna raised other problems. The Venetians and Hospitallers were involved in a defeat there in January 1345 and in the unsuccessful crusade there of Humbert de Viennois in 1346. Later a Hospitaller was made Captain of the league[89] and the defence of Smyrna fell increasingly upon the Order, which was so reluctant to assume the sole responsibility for it that in April 1347 the Master gave specific orders that it should not do so. The Order's alliance with the Genoese reasserted itself, and in summer 1346, the

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[83] P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident*; *recherches sur* '*la geste d'Umur Pacha*' (Paris, 1957), pp. 30, n. 3, 54–61, 90–100 *et passim*; an excellent up-to-date account documented in detail from Western and Eastern sources. It is impossible to deal with Turkish and Byzantine affairs here.

[84] *Misti*, xvii, f. 60v (6 June 1336).

[85] Delaville, *Orient*, i, pp. 101–102.

[86] Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 102–179 (for Benedict XII), 181–190 (for Smyrna).

[87] J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient*, 1342–1352 (Paris, 1904), p. 35.

[88] Lemerle, *Aydin*, p. 187, n. 3.

[89] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 95–96.

Hospitallers tried to prevent Venetian ships from entering the harbour at Smyrna.[90] In January 1347 a Venetian admiral was at Rhodes,[91] but ill-feeling grew. It was at this time that special customs duties were imposed at Rhodes on the Venetians, who in return placed an embargo on trade with Rhodes,[92] and in July 1347, ambassadors of the Order were in Venice complaining of the seizure of various possessions of the Order in Dalmatia.[93] In spring 1347, the Hospitallers and other Latin forces won a victory over the Turks at Imbros, but their lack of resources and, maybe, encouragement from Genoese commercial interests led them to press for the conclusion of truce negotiations with the Turks which had been begun the previous year. By 1348 these were wholly in the hands of the Order, which had reached a preliminary agreement with the Turks. In their anxiety for a general truce they appear to have considered agreeing to demolish the fortifications at Smyrna, but the Pope and the Venetians refused to agree to this.[94]

The Pope, hampered by wars in the West and by the aftermath of the Black Death, reluctantly countenanced these negotiations, but after the death of the great Umur in May 1348 he rejected any plan involving the abandonment of Smyrna. It was again the Venetians who most actively pressed for a new league. They had willingly taken part in the crusade of 1346, and in 1347 they decided to equip five galleys to serve against the Turks. But in July 1348 they withdrew their galleys from Smyrna on account of the expense of maintaining them and the lack of co-operation from their allies.[95] The Cretans contributed most to the maintenance of the Venetian galleys, but as expenses mounted and their Turkish trade dwindled so their enthusiasm declined; in 1346, the year in which their trade struggle with Rhodes reached its climax, they refused to continue their support for the crusade.[96] In June 1349 the Republic complained to the Pope of Turkish attacks in Greece and continued to oppose a settlement with the Turks. When, in October, the Pope summoned the powers to send ambassadors to ratify the truce, the Venetians again expounded the need for renewed action.[97]

Yet, when the ambassadors met in Avignon in May 1350, it was on the initiative of the Pope that, instead of ratifying the truce, they formed a new league.[98] The Venetians bargained hard to secure the defence of their own interests on terms most advantageous to themselves; on 18 March 1350 their envoys were instructed to emphasise the weakness of Smyrna, but on no account to accept the custody of the city nor any financial responsibility for it, and to insist on a financial contribution from the Pope to the league and on Venetian command of its fleet. During June, however, they continued to oppose a truce with the Turks, and in July agreed to pay 3,000 florins annually as a quarter of the cost of the defence of Smyrna.[99] The new league was concluded on 11 August but the Venetians were slow to ratify it and incurred the Pope's wrath by claiming that their war with Genoa made it impossible for them to contribute the 3,000 florins. They instructed the Venetian Captain of the union to protect their own shipping from the Genoese, and the war with Genoa eventually made effective action impossible; in September 1351 Clement VI dissolved the league.[100]

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[90] Gay, *Clément VI*, pp. 74, n. 3, 88, n. 1, 106.

[91] Delaville, *Rhodes*, p. 107, n. 3.

[92] Above, p. 201.

[93] Ljubic, *Listine*, iii, p. 4.

[94] Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 202, 226–232; Gay, *Clément VI*, pp. 86–93.

[95] Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 193–202, 226–229, 232, n. 6, *et passim.*

[96] F. Thiriet, 'Sui dissidi sorti tra il Comune di Venezia e i suoi feudatori di Creta nel trecento,' in *Archivio storico italiano*, cxiv (1956), pp. 705–706.

[97] *Misti*, xxv, f. 27v–28 (20 June 1349), f. 60v–61 (27 and 30 Oct. 1349).

[98] Lemerle, *Aydin*, p. 233.

[99] *Misti*, xxvi, f. 8–9 (18 Mar. 1350), 30v–31 (20 June 1350), 35 (8 July 1350).

The position was now reversed. In April 1351 the Hospitallers, again in favour of action, decided on a *passagium* to the Levant of up to one hundred knights for 1352,[101] while in the winter of 1351 the Venetian fleet lay peacefully in the Turkish ports of Altoluogo and Palacio.[102] By October 1352 the Cretan government had reached a preliminary settlement with the Lord of Altoluogo and, while negotiations for a pact continued in 1353, similar talks were held with the Turks of Palacio. In 1353 and again in 1355, Cretan shipping was being attacked by the Turks and in April 1356 an embassy was sent to both Altoluogo and Palacio to settle various difficulties about indemnities and customs duties according to pacts already concluded.[103] But the Genoese war ended in 1355, and in January 1356, before the Cretan embassy had set out, Venice, as a result of complaints of incessant Turkish attacks on Crete, appealed to the Pope for a renewal of the union.[104]

From his accession in 1352 Pope Innocent VI exhorted the rulers of Venice, Rhodes and Cyprus to defend Smyrna. Venice was not co-operative; in 1353 Innocent had to request a safe-conduct from the Doge for two ships equipped, at the expense of the Papacy, Cyprus and the Hospital, with provisions for Smyrna. In 1354 Innocent intervened in the affairs of the Hospitallers, condemning their idleness and degeneracy and threatening action against them if they did not play their part against the Turks;[105] 'pugnastis quidem in umbra deliciarum,' he declared to them.[106] Following the Venetian appeal of January 1356, negotiations for a renewal of the union were under way by mid-February, when the Venetians demanded that the Venetian Archbishop of Crete, Orso Delfini, be made Legate in command of the union.[107] On 1 April Innocent summoned Cyprus, Venice and Rhodes to send galleys to Smyrna by 1 July, and envoys to Avignon by 1 November.[108] By now the Venetian pacts with the Turks had broken down; some time before 4 August 1356 three galleys from Crete had captured various Turkish vessels.[109] By 13 September the Venetians had news that the Hospitallers and Cypriots had all or part of their fleet prepared, and promised that their own ships would be ready by Christmas;[110] later, in fact, war between Venice and Hungary delayed their preparations.[111]

The union, formally renewed on 20 March 1357, provided that a joint fleet of six galleys should patrol the Turkish coast, and Innocent again demanded the payment of the subsidies due for Smyrna.[112] The Venetians acted in their usual manner, insisting upon the exclusion of the Genoese from the union, attempting to secure the provision by the Hospitallers of an extra galley and pressing for a Papal licence for two Venetian galleys to trade in Egypt. On 29 July they made arrangements for two galleys to be at Smyrna by 1 September,[113] and in April 1358 they ordered the Cretans to provide two galleys for the Christian union.[114]

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[100] Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 233–235; Caroldo, *Historie venete*, f. 203v mentions the instructions to the Captain.

[101] *Malta*, cod. 318, f. 13v (30 Apr. 1351).

[102] Heyd, *Commercio*, p. 561, n. 5.

[103] *Cons. Cand.*, f. 70v (13 Oct. 1352), 75–75v (5 April 1353), 83 (9 Apr. 1355), 88 (4 Feb. 1356).

[104] *Misti*, xxvii, f. 56v (30 Jan. 1356).

[105] O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome; vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défence de l'Empire d'Orient*, 1355–1375 (Warsaw, 1930); Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 125–126; for the safe-conduct see *Commemoriali*, ii, p. 218.

[106] O. Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vi (Lucca, 1750), p. 634.

[107] *Misti*, xxvii, f. 58v (15 Feb. 1356).

[108] *Dip. Ven. Lev.*, ii, pp. 26–28.

[109] *Acta Cand.*, 4 Aug. 1356.

[110] *Misti*, xxvii, f. 97v.

[111] N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (1327–1405) *et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1896), pp. 100–101; this work is still useful.

[112] Halecki, *Byzance*, p. 64.

At this point a decisive change destroyed the good prospects for effective co-operation in the years to come. In 1359 the Papal Legate, the Venetian Orso Delfini, was replaced by the Gascon Pierre Thomas. In the same year Pierre de Lusignan became King of Cyprus and, in co-operation with his Chancellor, Philippe de Mézières, and with Pierre Thomas, he was responsible for the diversion of the financial and political support which the Papacy provided for the crusading movement away from the defence of Europe towards the old crusading ideal, the recovery of the Holy Land. The Knights of Rhodes followed this essentially chivalrous and French policy and abandoned to Venice the conflict with the Turks. At first the new trend was not apparent. In mid-1359 Pierre Thomas and the new Captain of Smyrna, a Hospitaller, Niccolò Benedetti, left Venice; the Republic provided a galley for them, two more to serve the union, and supplies, but refused to pay the 3,000 florins due for the support of Smyrna. Accompanied by a Latin fleet which included Venetian and Rhodian galleys, the Legate visited Constantinople and destroyed the Turkish fort of Lampsacus in the Dardanelles, once again demonstrating the possibilities of joint action. But in 1360 Pierre Thomas was in Crete, and in the autumn reports reached Venice that he had deserted the league, disarming his own galley and the two from Rhodes, and had gone to Cyprus with one Venetian and two Cypriot galleys, leaving only one Venetian galley to defend Crete. So in 1360 and 1361 the Venetians used their galleys to defend their own shipping;[115] they had already renewed negotiations with the Turks at Altoluogo in 1359.[116] Meanwhile, in August 1360, the galleys of the Order were laid up at Rhodes,[117] and in 1361 the Hospitallers were engaged with the Cypriot and Papal forces in the capture of Adalia, on the mainland opposite Cyprus.[118]

The participation of the Order in the Cypriot expeditions against Egypt, which could only harm Venetian trade in an area where it was comparatively secure, worsened relations with the Republic. After their revolt of 1364 against Venice many Cretans, including one of their leaders, Tito Gradenigo, found refuge and support at Rhodes.[119] Rhodes and Cyprus were not included in the proposals for an alliance between Venice and Genoa to support Byzantium, although the Venetian envoy had powers to include them if it should be convenient.[120] The Cretan revolt made effective action by the Venetians almost impossible at this time, although later they reluctantly participated in the crusade of 1365, probably in ignorance of its objective, and were furious when it captured Alexandria. They were chiefly responsible for the subsequent failures of the expedition, taking the initiative in the prolonged negotiations with the Sultan which followed, in the interests of their own trade. Their commerce in Syria, Egypt and Tripoli suffered greatly, and their relations with Cyprus and the Hospitallers became very bitter. These latter persuaded the Pope to withdraw the licences for Venetians to trade in Egypt; the Republic retaliated by forbidding the exportation of men or arms to Cyprus or Rhodes. The Venetians had destroyed all chances of success, negotiations with the Sultan finally broke down in 1369 and the Christians at last united; galleys from Venice, Genoa, Cyprus and Rhodes sailed to attack Alexandria and the Sultan gave way. Peace was concluded in 1370 and the Papal restrictions against trade with Egypt were relaxed.[121]

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[113] *Misti*, xxvii, f. 116 (28 Mar. 1357); xxviii, f. 10 (29 July 1357).

[114] *Régestes*, no. 327 (30 Apr. 1358).

[115] J. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome, 1954), pp. 84–86, 206–211, *et passim*. It was probably in 1359 that a combined Venetian, Greek and Rhodian fleet defeated a Turkish fleet near Megara; see R.-J. Loenertz, 'Athènes et Néopatras : régestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans, 1311–1394,' in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, xxv (1955), addenda, pp. 430–431, but K. Setton, *Catalan domination of Athens*, 1311–1388 (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 60 places it in 1364.

[116] Thiriet, *Creta*, p. 708, n. 24; cf. *Régestes*, no. 330 (14 June 1358).

[117] *Cons. Cand.*, f. 142 (31 Aug. 1360).

[118] G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, ii (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 321–323.

[119] Venetian protests of 22 May 1364, 17 Oct. 1365 in *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Liber secretorum Collegii*, 1363–1366, f. 94v, 171 (kindly communicated by M. Robert Naura); cf. p. 9, n. 10. For Gradenigo see Raphayni de Caresinis, *Chronica* (in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.s. xii, part ii; Bologna, 1922), p. 15. Another Cretan exile was well received in Rhodes in 1332 (Theotokis, *Θεσπίσματα*, i, p. 110).

The Venetians had received little assistance, meanwhile, in the defence of Greece against what was no longer large-scale piracy but an invasion of Europe. Thrace was overrun by the Turks in 1355, Gallipoli and Adrianople fell and the old Venetian policy of retaining strategic points and avoiding territorial entanglements became increasingly hard to maintain. The Order played no part in the crusade of Amedeo of Savoy which recaptured Gallipoli in 1366, but after the peace with Egypt in 1370 its attentions were again turned towards Europe. In 1374 Pope Gregory XI not only entrusted the defence of Smyrna entirely to the Hospitallers but planned an expedition of the Order which should attack the Turks in the Aegean or the Dardanelles. Venice was again to be a point of embarkation and two Hospitallers accompanied a mission to Constantinople to discuss the scheme.[122] At first the Venetians were not hostile to such plans, and on 4 April 1374 the Doge advised the Pope that it would be best to determine the destination of the expedition only after consultation with the Byzantines.[123] Later, again at war with Genoa, they became obstructive; early in 1376 the Venetians refused to supply two ships requested by the Papal envoy for use against the Turks, on the grounds that there were differences between Venice and the Byzantines and that nothing effective could be achieved without the co-operation of other powers.[124] On 19 April 1377 a similar request from the Hospitallers for galleys for their expedition was refused, with the excuse that there were none to spare.[125]

The real reason for this refusal was possibly a change in the Order's plans which, early in 1378, took the expedition, destined to defend Byzantium against the Turks, to Vonitza in North-west Greece where it attacked the Albanians. The motives for the interventions in Greece of the Hospitallers are not clear. They had long held possessions in the Duchy of Athens and in the Morea,[126] and in about 1318 the

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[120] F. Thiriet, 'Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363,' in *Archivio storico italiano*, cxiii (1955).

[121] Hill, *Cyprus*, ii, pp. 327–360; Smet, *Peter Thomas*, pp. 102–141.

[122] Halecki, *Byzance*, pp. 74–77, 89–162; and for Gregory's plans, pp. 250, 264–265, 292–297, 300, 316–318, *et passim*.

[123] *Misti*, xxxiv, f. 93v–94; cf. *Régestes*, no. 533.

[124] Caroldo, *Historie venete*, f. 384–384v; cf. Halecki, *Byzance*, pp. 319–323.

[125] *Misti*, xxxvi, f. 5v.

[126] A. Rubió i Lluch, 'La Greciá catalana des de la mort de Frederic III fins a la invasió navarresa, 1377–1379,' in *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, vi, part i (1915–1920), pp. 182–184.

Venetians had agreed that they should attack the Catalan Duchy of Athens.[127] But later, in 1349, it was the news that the Order was proposing to acquire the castle of Karystos on the island of Negroponte (the classical Euboea), a Venetian base, which determined the Venetians to purchase it for themselves. In March 1350 they protested to the Master against its acquisition by the Order, alleging their own ancient rights to it, but in 1351 it was for a time in the Order's hands.[128] During 1356 and 1357, Pope Innocent VI was encouraging a scheme, apparently accepted in Rhodes, for the Order to establish itself in the Angevin principality of Achaea.[129] But whatever grandiose policy for the defence of Europe or the aggrandizement of the Order lay behind these obscure projects, they came to nothing, and for years the Order showed no further interest in Greece.

Possibly the existence of a long-term plan to oppose the Turks in Greece by establishing the Order there explains the invasion of North-west Greece in 1378, which followed the leasing, in 1377, of the principality of Achaea for five years from Joanna of Naples, and the acquisition, in the same year, from Magdalena Buondelmonti, Duchess of Cephalonia, of the town of Vonitza in Epirus. Francesco and Esau Buondelmonti and other Florentine interests played an important part in the expedition and may well have been responsible for its diversion.[130] The threat to the Venetians' trade in the Morea, where their privileges had recently been confirmed by Joanna of Naples,[131] and to their position at Coron and Modon was clear; involved in the climax of their conflict with Genoa, they were, anyway, unlikely to assist such a project. The Hospitallers, under their Aragonese Master, Juan Fernández de Heredia, were defeated by the Albanians and, after some inconclusive attacks on the Catalans of Athens, evacuated the Morea in 1381, retaining only their former possessions there. In January 1382 the Venetians formed an alliance with the Navarrese mercenaries in the Morea who had recently served the Hospitallers.[132]

Venice, freed from the Genoese war in 1381, turned to the defence of her hegemony in Greece, where the Christians were unable to resist the Turks. The Schism in the Papacy meant that from 1378 there was little hope of assistance from the West, yet Venice, with the support of the Roman Pope, opposed the attempts of the Order to re-establish itself in Greece.[133] For the time these attempts amounted to little, for the Order was occupied with the defence of Smyrna and weakened by the Schism. Rhodes followed the cause of the Avignon Popes, but was deprived of the resources of the Order in England, Germany and Italy. The Prior of Venice, Palamedo di Giovanni, a Sicilian, remained faithful to Rhodes,[134] but when, in 1383, the Roman Pope created a Neapolitan, Riccardo Caracciolo, as rival Master of the Order, many Hospitallers from the Priory followed him.[135] In 1385 Caracciolo nominated Carolo di Scrinario, another Neapolitan, as Prior of Venice[136] and the Senate supported him, since the Paduans were scheming for the nomination of a Prior who would be hostile to Venice.[137] But their position was not clearly defined and they treated the situation as one of practical politics. They allowed the Prior of England, a follower of the Roman Pope, to send monies to Rhodes through Venice,[138] and were willing to propose joint naval action in the Aegean to the Hospitallers at Rhodes.[139] They even ordered justice to be done to the Hospitallers in an old quarrel over some property of the Order at Modon in Greece.[140]

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[127] Giomo, *Misti*, p. 11.

[128] The acquisition of Karystos was being discussed in Venice on 22 Jan. 1348 (*Régestes*, no. 208), and when, in mid-Aug. 1349, news arrived that the Order was planning to acquire it from Bonifacio, son of Alfons Fadrique of Aragon, in exchange for lands in Sicily, the Venetians decided to negotiate for it themselves (text of the letter from Negroponte, dated Aug. 1349, in *Dip. Or. Cat.*, pp. 251–252; docs. of 13 and 18 Aug. in *Misti*, xxv, f. 42, 44v, and cf. *Régestes*, no. 229). On 14 Mar. 1350 they made their protest to the Order (*Régestes*, no. 238). By 21 Apr. 1351 they seem to have provisionally arranged the purchase (*Misti*, xxvi, f. 55v) and on 28 Apr. were sending an envoy to complete the transaction in Sicily (text in *Dip. Ven. Lev.*, ii, pp. 13–14). The contents of these documents were made known by K. Hopf in his 'Geschichtlicher Uberblick über die Schicksale von Karystos auf Euboea in dem Zeitraume von 1205–1470,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien: Philosophisch-historische Classe*, xi (1853), pp. 579–581 and his *Geschichte Griechenlands*, i, p. 452, but have since been ignored by historians. The Order's tenure of Karystos is proved by two documents: by 28 July 1351 news had reached Venice that Bonifacio was unable to complete the sale since the Hospitallers held the castle, probably on a lease (*Misti*, xxvi, f. 64v), while on 5 July 1351 a Hospitaller was sent to the preceptory of *Carasto* (*Malta*, cod. 318, f. 210v). No more is heard of the Order at Karystos and it seems unlikely that it held it for long; its sale to Venice was confirmed at Messina on 13 Sept. 1351 (text in *Dip. Ven. Lev.*, ii, pp. 12–16) but Venice was still negotiating for it in 1359 and only acquired it years later. For the history of Karystos at this time see Loenertz, *Athènes et Néopatras*, pp. 174–182.

[129] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 131–133, for the facts, his interpretation of which is pure supposition.

[130] Luttrell, *Actividades económicas, passim.*

[131] *Commemoriali*, iii, pp. 129–131.

In 1382 Fernández de Heredia returned to Avignon to deal with the problems which had arisen in the West, but not until 1389 did he abandon his efforts to re-establish the Order in Greece. Negotiations to this end with the Navarrese companies in the Morea were sabotaged by Venice, and when, early in 1387, Fernández de Heredia succeeded in purchasing from Mary of Brittany the Angevin claim to the Principality of Achaea on the Order's behalf, Amedeo di Acca at once acted to secure the revocation of the sale by the Avignonese Pope. Fernández de Heredia's appointment in 1389 of a Governor of the Morea was his last empty gesture towards Greece; henceforth the defence of Rhodes and Smyrna was paramount.[141] A Genoese proposal for a league with Venice, Byzantium and Rhodes, made in about 1386, came to nothing, and in 1389 the Order concluded an alliance against the Turks with the lesser Levantine powers, Cyprus, Pera, Chios and Lesbos.[142] In 1390 the Byzantine prince, Manuel Paleologus, visited Rhodes

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[132] The interpretation by Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 189, 201, 247 and by others of this expedition as being directed by the ambitions of Juan Fernández de Heredia is based on the chronicle of J. Bosio, which is hopelessly inaccurate at this point and has led later historians into a tangle of mistakes. R.-J. Loenertz, 'Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce, 1376–1383; régestes et documents,' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xxii (1956) corrects many of these, but the subject needs reinterpreting on the lines suggested here. Bosio's story that the Hospitallers were invited by a Venetian admiral to join him in an attack on the Morea is most improbable; cf. Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 202–203.

[133] O. Halecki, 'Rome et Byzance au temps du Grand Schisme d'Occident,' in *Collectanea Theologica* (Lwów), xviii (1937), pp. 489–490, *et passim.*

[134] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 213, 250, n. 1. Di Giovanni was nominated on the 15 Nov. 1381 (*Archivio Vaticano*, Reg. Vat., 297, f. 103–104) and succeeded by Simone Visdomini di Montecchio from Parma, 1391–1398 (Sommi-Picenardi, *Del Gran Priorato*, pp. 145–146). The Roman Pope, Boniface IX, provided Niccolò Orsini to the Priory on 29 Sept. 1399 (*Archivio del Priorato di Venezia*, in filze 101).

[135] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 248–253.

[136] *Malta*, cod. 281, f. 74–74v (31 Aug. 1385).

[137] *Misti*, xl, f. 7 (13 Oct. 1385).

[138] Above, p. 199.

[139] Delaville, *Orient*, i, pp. 356–357, 365–368; for Venetian hopes of acquiring assistance from the Order see *Régestes*, no. 813 (26 Apr. 1392); *Misti*, xliii, f. 143 (20 July 1396); *Régestes*, no. 949 (7 Sept. 1398); *Misti*, xliv, f. 107v–108 (19 July 1399).

[140] *Régestes*, nos. 583 (7 Sept. 1376), 715 (24 Sept. 1388).

[141] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 219–233; R. Cessi, 'Amedeo di Acaia e la revendicazione dei domini sabaudi in Oriente,' in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s. lxxiii (1919), pp. 5–9.

[142] Hill, *Cyprus*, ii, pp. 433, n. 4, 439–440.

and secured some assistance, although the galleys of the Order which accompanied him to Constantinople did not take part in the attack on the town, perhaps because they were supposed not to fight against Christians.[143] The Order even opened negotiations for a truce with the Turks, but by 1393 these had broken down; desperate measures were now adopted for the defence of Smyrna,[144] and in 1396 the Order again participated with Chios and Lesbos in a small league.[145]

The Venetians failed to defend Greece either by diplomatic manoeuvres or by accommodations with the Turks, whose advances threatened the whole country. Their hopes of controlling the Morea by patronising its invasion by Amedeo di Acaia collapsed on his death in 1391, and Venice was compelled to intervene directly, acquiring Nauplia, Argos and, in 1395, Athens; yet they did little to prevent the Turks ravaging the Morea in that year.[146] In 1396 the Venetians, together with the Hospitallers, took part in the crusade which ended disastrously at Nicopolis on the Danube.[147] After this the Morea lay helpless before a huge Turkish army and Theodore, the Byzantine Despot of Morea, offered Corinth to the Venetians if they would defend it and the isthmus which protected the Despotate. On their refusal, Theodore turned to the Hospitallers who occupied Corinth in 1397 and saved the Morea. Later, the Order attempted to purchase the whole Despotate and succeeded in gaining virtual control of it. But the defeat of the Turks by the Tartars in 1402 removed the immediate danger to the Morea. The Hospitallers' presence there, now without justification, was resented by the Greeks and the Order accepted the need for its withdrawal, which was completed in 1404.[148] The Venetians had, with reason, been deeply suspicious of the Greek ambitions of the Order;[149] but where the Republic had judged it prudent to remain in isolation and avoid entangling commitments, the Hospitallers' intervention, whatever its motive, had possibly saved the Despotate of Morea, for a further half a century.

After Nicopolis, Rhodes became the centre of Franco-Genoese activities in the Levant, and a Genoese fleet waged war against Venice under the command of a Genoese Hospitaller, Antonio di Grimaldi. At times the Venetians allied with the Turks and refused to defend Greece; at others they co-operated with the Genoese and Hospitallers and proposed alliances against the Turks. But, in general, relations between the Republic and Rhodes grew steadily worse; the Venetians, for example, betrayed to the Egyptians the Hospitallers' plans for an attack on Syria and then claimed compensation from the Order for damages done to their merchants in the sack of Beirut. When in 1403 a ship of the Order fought in the

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[143] P. Charanis, 'An important short chronicle of the fourteenth century,' in *Byzantion*, xiii (1938), pp. 356–357; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès,' in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxvii (1938), p. 114, n. 5. In Oct. 1392 some Hospitallers had lately been in Constantinople (Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, i, p. 51).

[144] Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 233–234.

[145] Ljubic, *Listine*, iv, p. 378.

[146] Venice was ready to treat with the Turks from Mar. 1376 onwards (*Régestes*, nos. 575–576 *et passim*). In general see M. Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1923), *passim*: R. Cessi, *Amedeo di Acaia*, *passim* and his 'Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo,' in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s. lix (1915); Setton, *Athens*, pp. 190–194, 199–203.

[147] Delaville, *Orient*, i, pp. 211–299.

[148] R.-J. Loenertz, 'Pour l'historie du Péloponèse au XIVe siècle, 1382–1404,' in *Études byzantines*, i (1943), pp. 186–196.

[149] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, i, pp. 106–109 (1403); Theodore apparently received Venetian assistance in repurchasing the Despotate in 1404 (*Malta*, cod. 333, f. 115–115v).

Genoese fleet against the Venetians the latter were furious.[150] It is not surprising that in 1405 they refused to authorise a plan of the Order to fortify, at its own expense, the island of Tenedos at the mouth of the Dardanelles.[151] When Smyrna fell to the Tartars in 1402, much of Greece had been lost, and the complications and jealousies of the past decades had produced a situation in which co-operation was almost impossible.

Rhodes enjoyed Papal protection and the Venetians valued the availability of its harbour too highly to launch a full-scale attack on it, but during this period the relationship of the two powers degenerated from one of mutual distrust, which at least permitted a degree of co-operation, into undisguised hostility and deadlock. Their very establishment at Rhodes at the beginning of the century earned the Hospitallers the opposition of the Venetians who coveted the island and resented the privileges enjoyed there by their rivals. Yet, despite the incidents and retaliations which took place from the very beginning, the Venetians took part in and even initiated a series of Christian unions. During the period of defence against Turkish naval attacks which lasted roughly until 1360, they consistently pressed for united action which would further their own interests on terms most advantageous to themselves, even if at times they abandoned the Christian leagues, or withdrew from the defence of Smyrna in order to fight the Genoese, or to negotiate with the Turks. The isolated successes of these unions showed what combined action could achieve with a few galleys. The small fleets provided for them did not compare with the large fleets the Venetians could raise to fight against the Genoese; there was no permanent basis of co-operation and no long-term plan of action. Apart from the capture of Smyrna, the unions achieved only temporary results, for co-operation was often good enough during the operation to secure these, but not to sustain a promising campaign. For their part, the Hospitallers gave no definite lead and too often they were luke-warm and defensive in their attitude, occupied with their own affairs in the West and impelled to action only by Papal threats.

The Order had no real contacts in Venice and at Rhodes the Venetians were an insecure minority, so direct negotiations between the two powers were rare, despite their almost uninterrupted trading connections and the frequency with which Venetian ships called at Rhodes. Diplomatic and military co-operation was almost always the result of Papal intervention, and broke down during the Egyptian campaigns of the 1360's, which were completely opposed to Venetian interests. With the transfer of the main struggle to Greece, the intervention there of the Order increased Venetian jealousies, aroused years earlier during the conflict over Karystos. As the danger to Europe grew this rivalry became more bitter, and during the Schism there was no Papal mediation to restrain it so that, as the Hospitallers grew more energetic in their activities towards the end of the century, the Venetians openly opposed them. Despite their enthusiasm, the Hospitallers were never by themselves sufficiently strong to oppose the Turks, except from positions of great strength such as Corinth or Smyrna. The Venetians had the necessary force but used it only when it suited their immediate interests to do so, and when it did not they were ready to treat with the Turks. The opportunism of the Venetians, the real antipathy which existed between the mercantile Republic and the chivalrous Order, and the failure of the Hospitallers to overcome these, must be numbered among the factors which divided Christendom to the advantage of the Turks, and which finally contributed to the decline of Venice and the fall of Rhodes. At the end of the fifteenth century the Venetians still regarded Rhodes, in the words of Brother Felix Faber, as a thorn in their eyes and a spear in their sides: 'Sed et Veneti non multo affectu Rhodios prosequuntur; est enim insula illa eis spina in oculis et lancea in lateribus.'[152]

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[150] Delaville, *Orient*, i, pp. 356–357, 365–379, 384–385, 411–426, 475–461, 488 *et passim*; Delaville, *Rhodes*, pp. 271–304; *Régestes*, no. 949 (7 Sept. 1398); for other quarrels see Noiret, *Crète*, pp. 127–128.

[151] F. Thiriet, 'Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle,' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, lxv (1953), p. 242.

A. T. Luttrell

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[152] *Frater Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler, iii (Stuttgart, 1849), p. 258.

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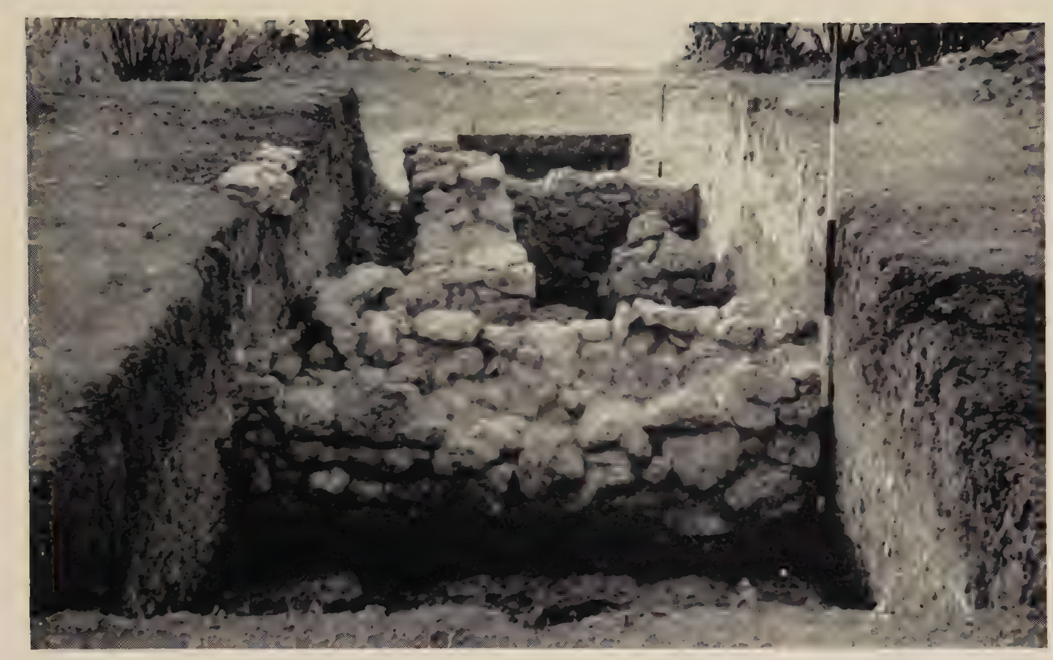
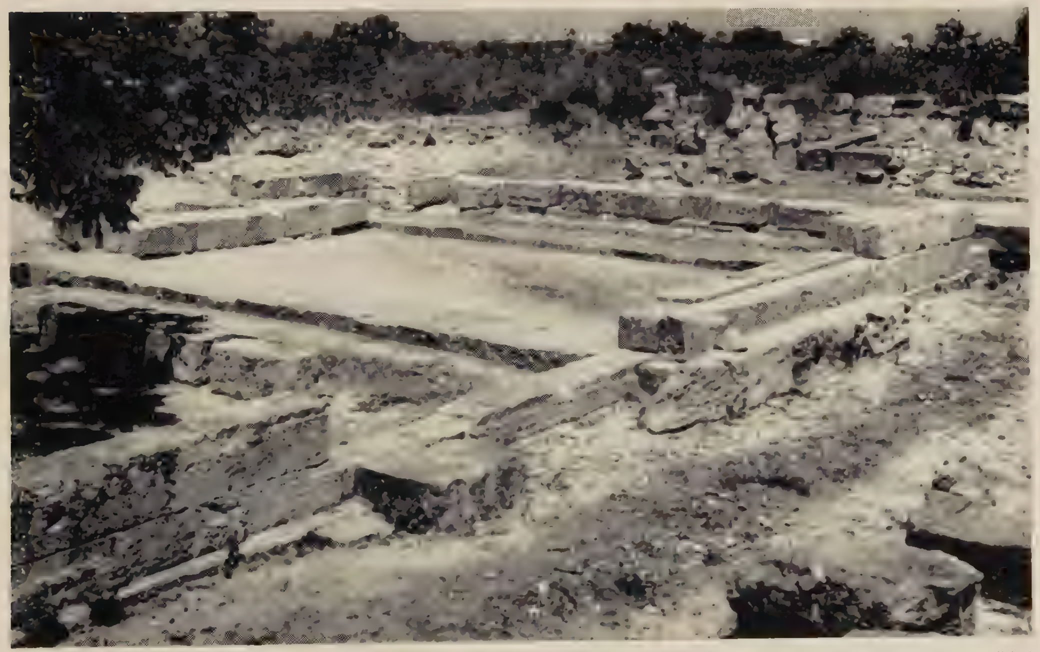


(Photo: V. Tusa)

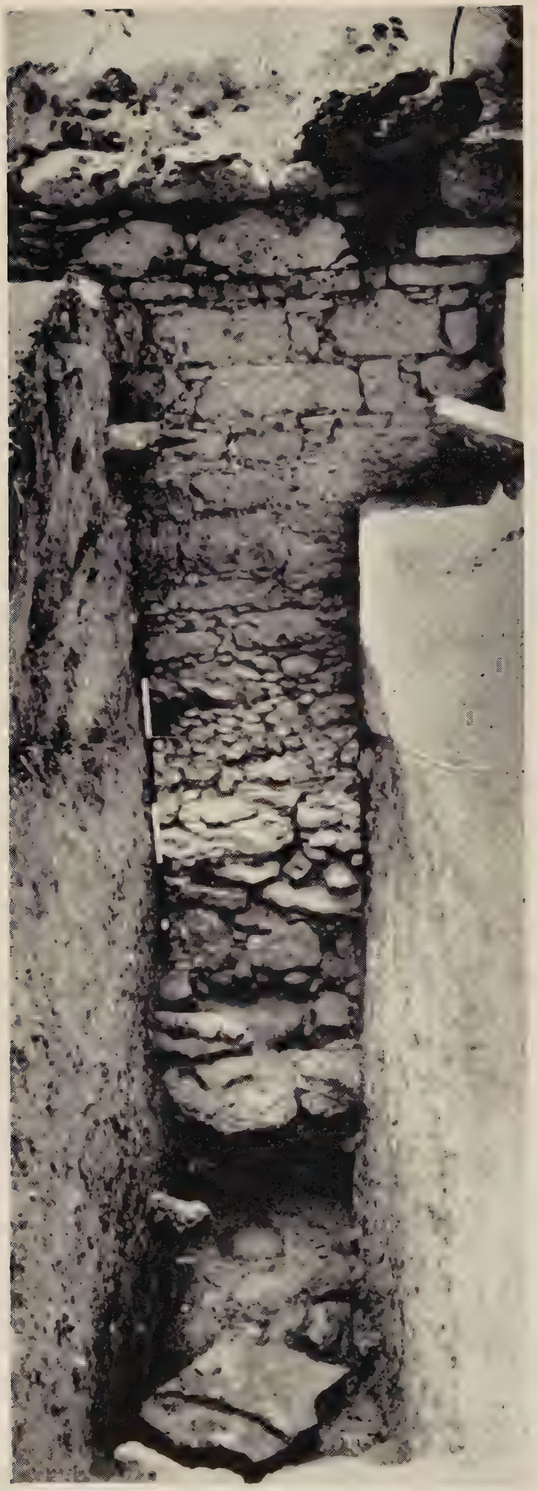
a. TRENCH 6, LOOKING ACROSS THE STUMP OF THE OLD TOWN WALL, FROM THE SOUTH



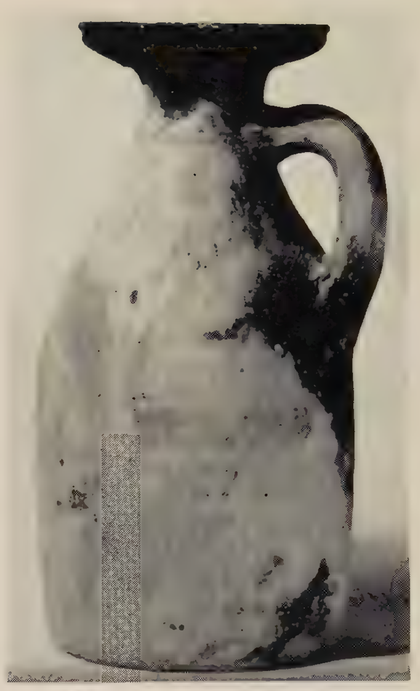
(Photo: Motya Expedition)

b. THE 'CAPPIDAZZU' BUILDING

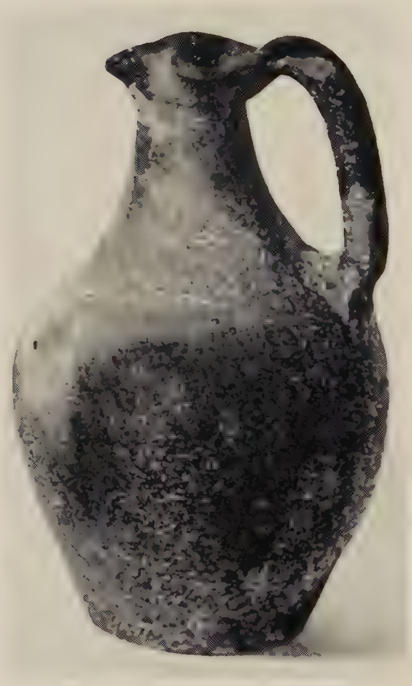
MOTYA EXCAVATIONS, 1955 (pp. 1-29)



a. Trench 4, from the North



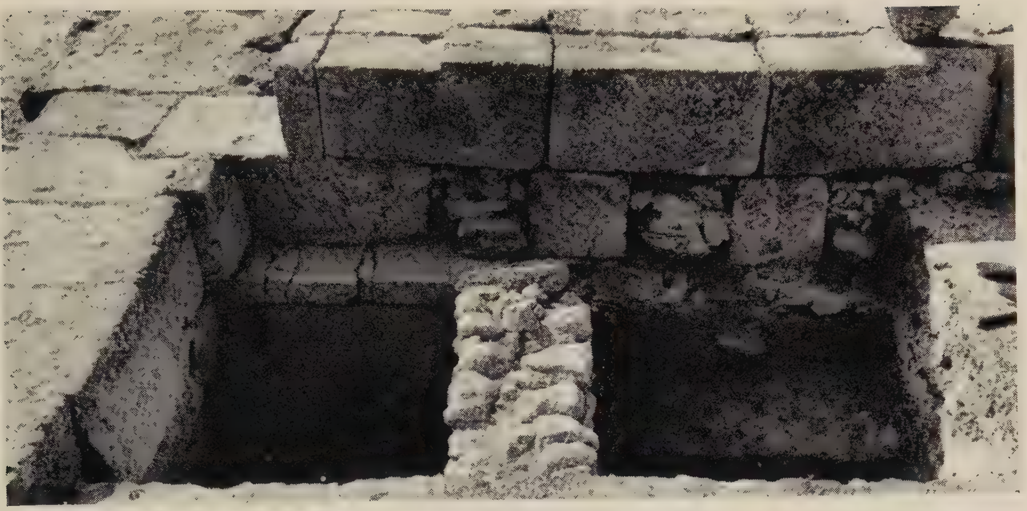
b. Disc-topped Jug, from the Sarcophagus in Trench 6



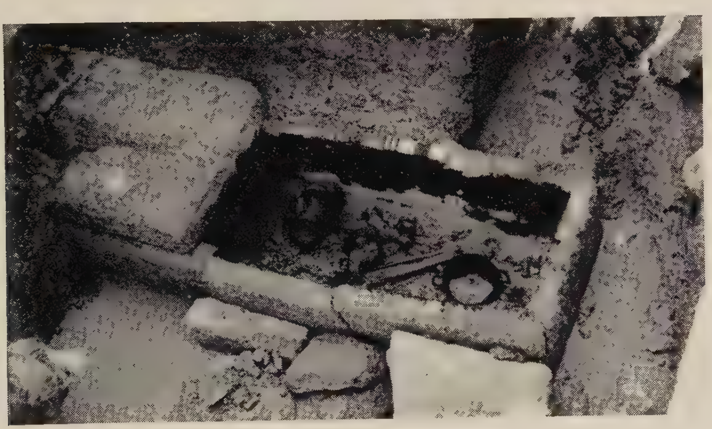
c. Piriform Jug, from the Sarcophagus in Trench 6

Motya Excavations, 1955 (pp. 1-29)

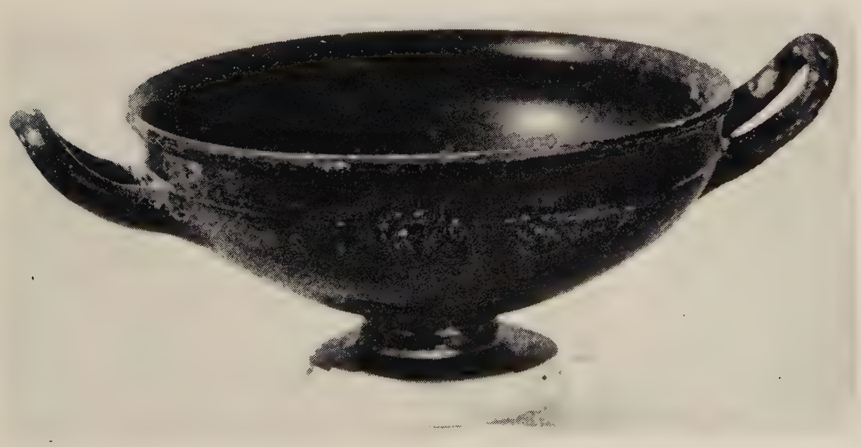
(Photos: Motya Expedition)



a. Trench 5*a* (The 'Cappidazzu' Building)



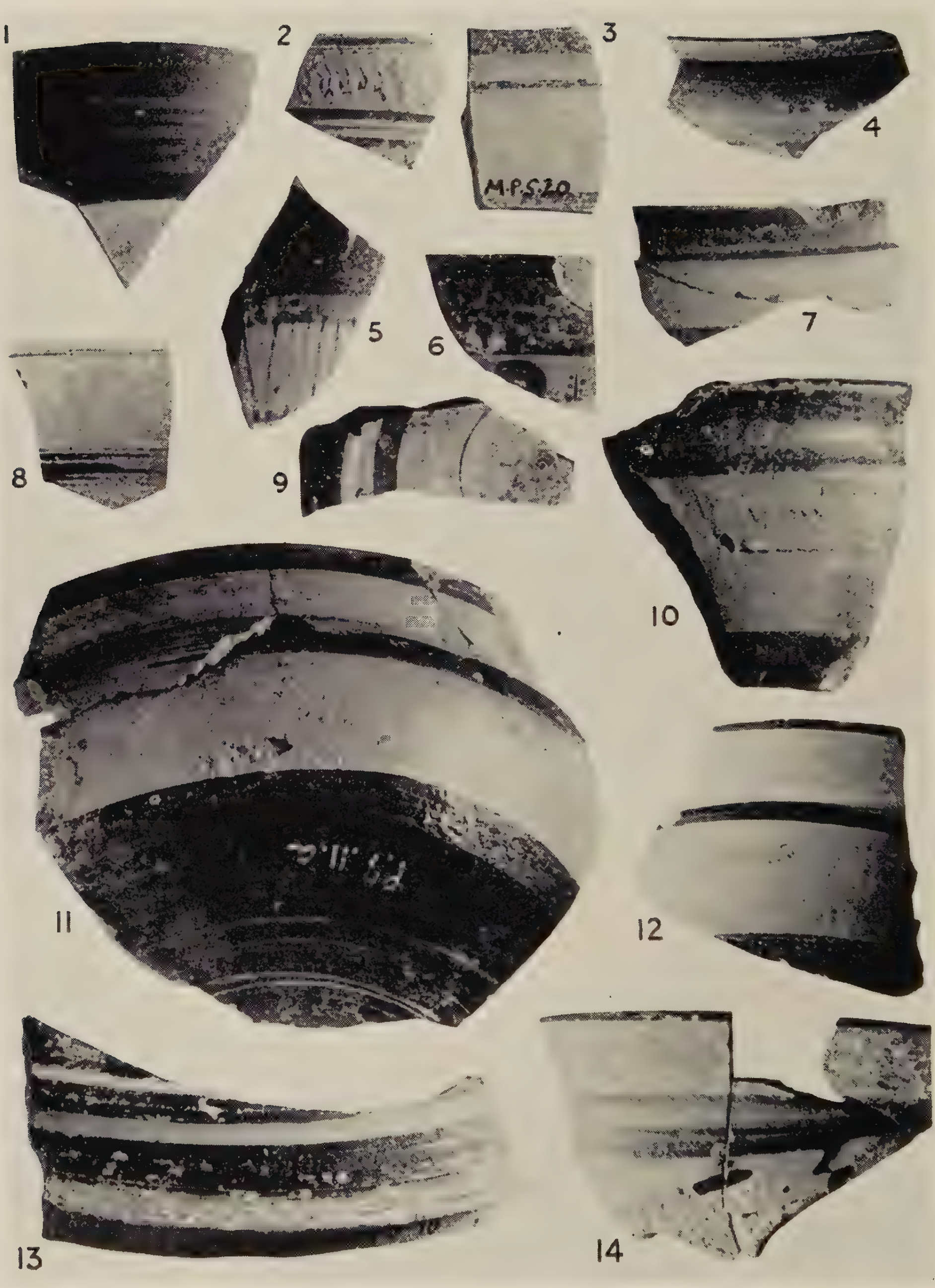
b. Trench 6, Sarcophagus



c. Attic Cup, from the Sarcophagus in Trench 6

Motya Excavations, 1955 (pp. 1-29)

(Photos: Motya Expedition)


1
2
3
M.P.S.20
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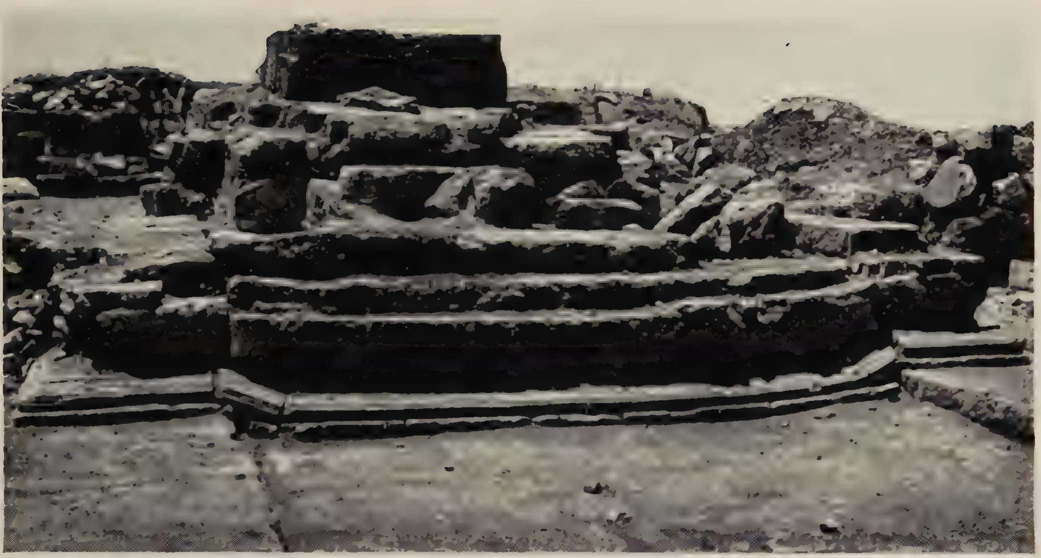
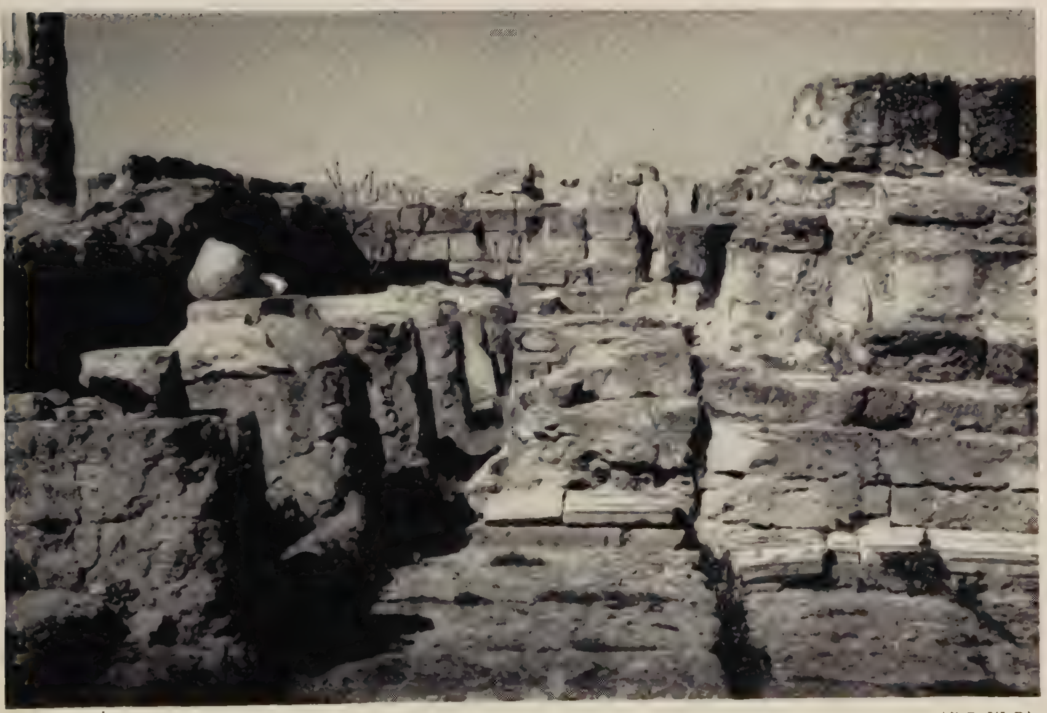
Motya Excavations, 1955 (pp. 1-29). Selected Sherds

(*Photo: Motya Expedition*)



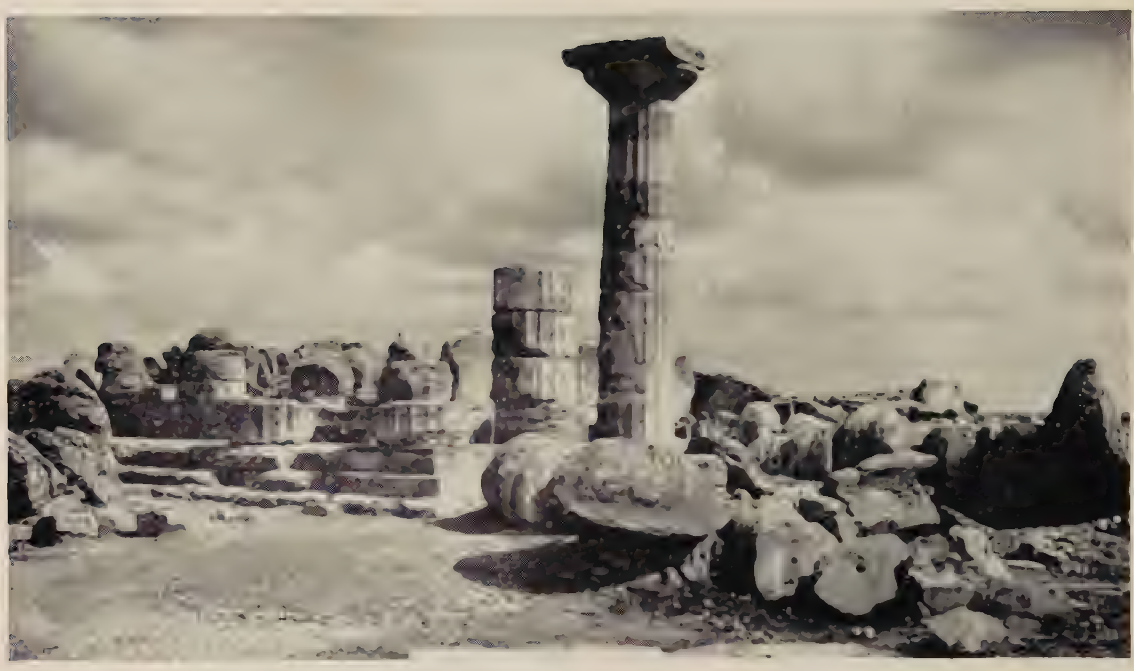
(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

a. The Base, from the East



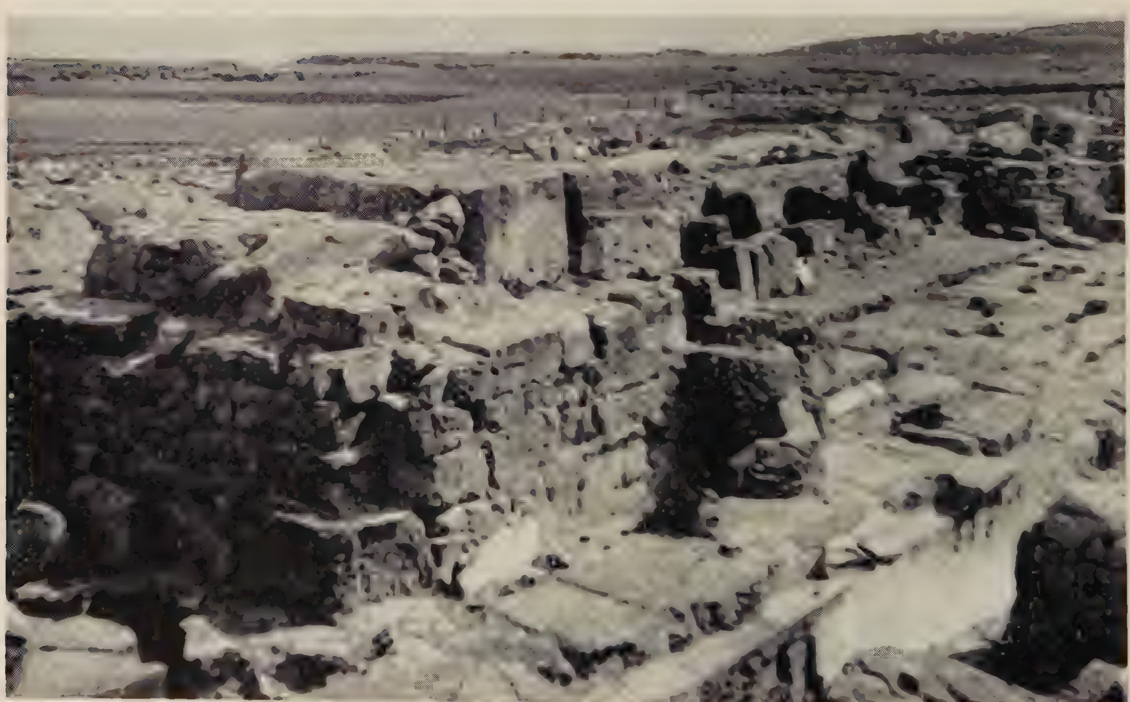
(*J. B. W. P.*)

b. The South Flank of the Base, from the East. Cyrene, Temple of Zeus (pp. 30-62)



(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

a. The South-west Angle, Showing Re-erected Column

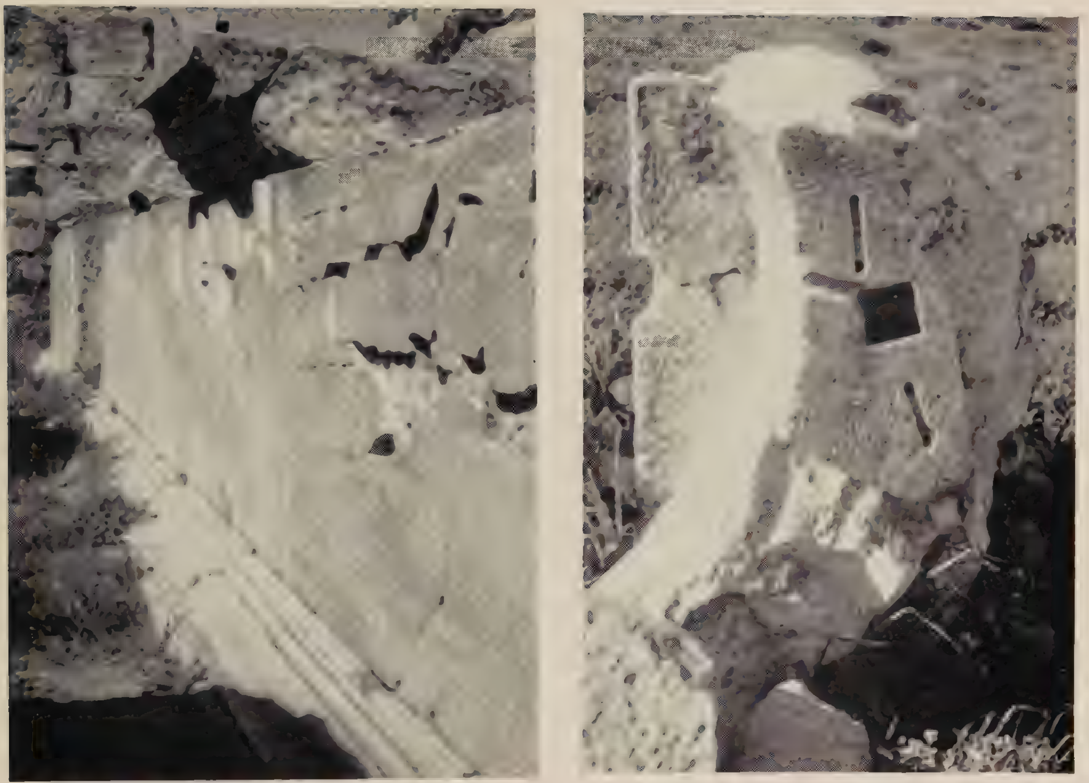


(*University of Manchester Expedition*)

b. The Throne-core, from the South-west

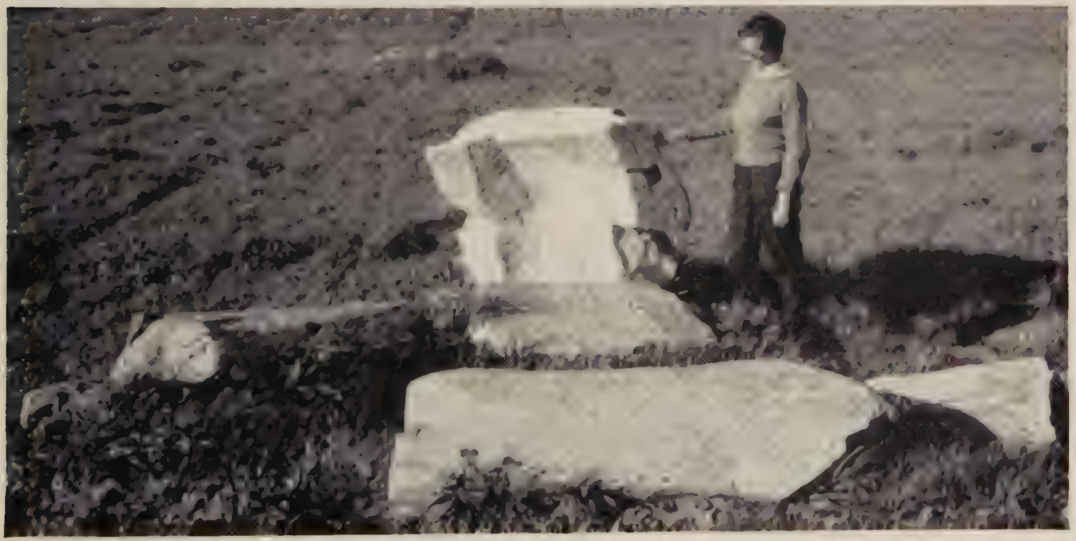
Cyrene, Temple of Zeus (pp. 30-62)

PLATE VII



a. Marble Revetment of Platform, South Flank

b. Fragment of Marble Torso (Member II)

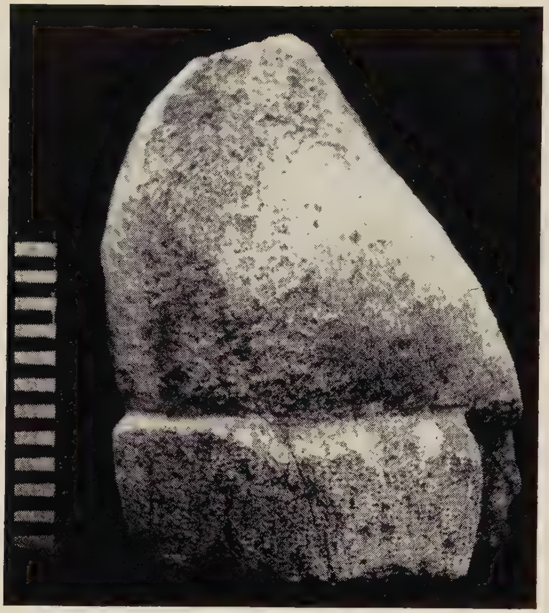


c. Fragments of Marble Torso and Limbs (Members I-IV)

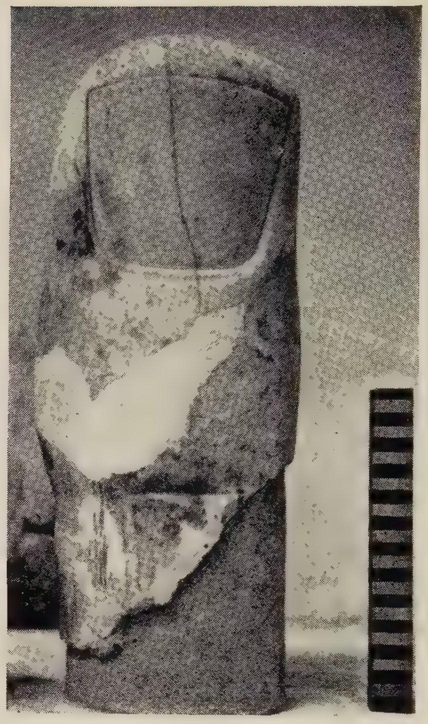
Cyrene, Temple of Zeus (pp. 30-62)

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

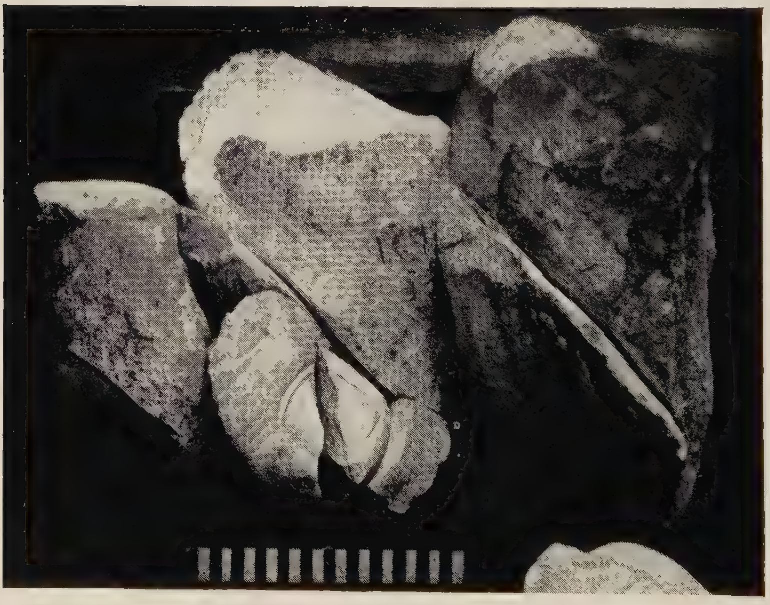
PLATE VIII



a. Left Heel (?)



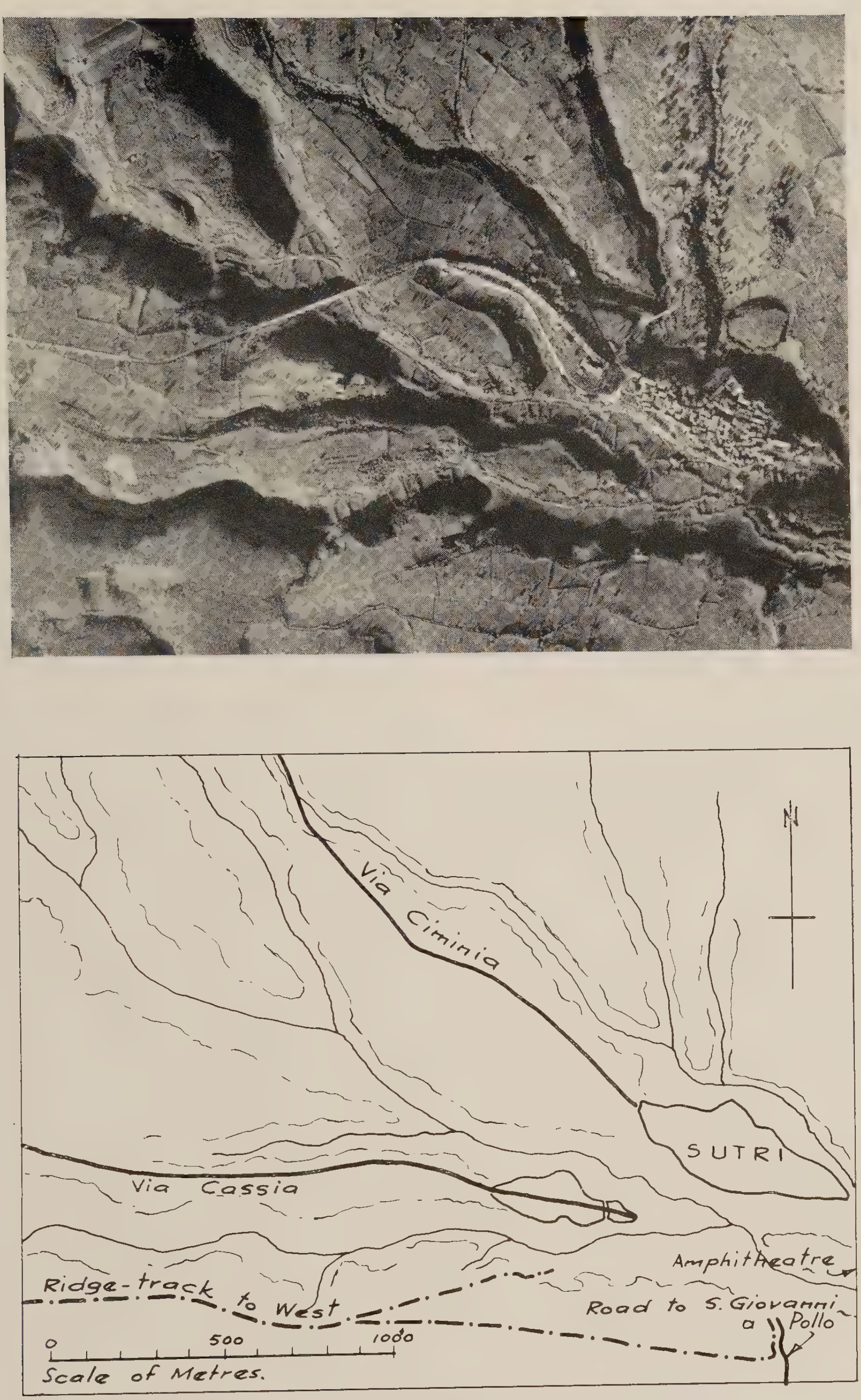
b. Thumb



c. Part of Right Foot

Cyrene, Temple of Zeus. Marble Fragments in the Museum
(Scale in Centimetres)

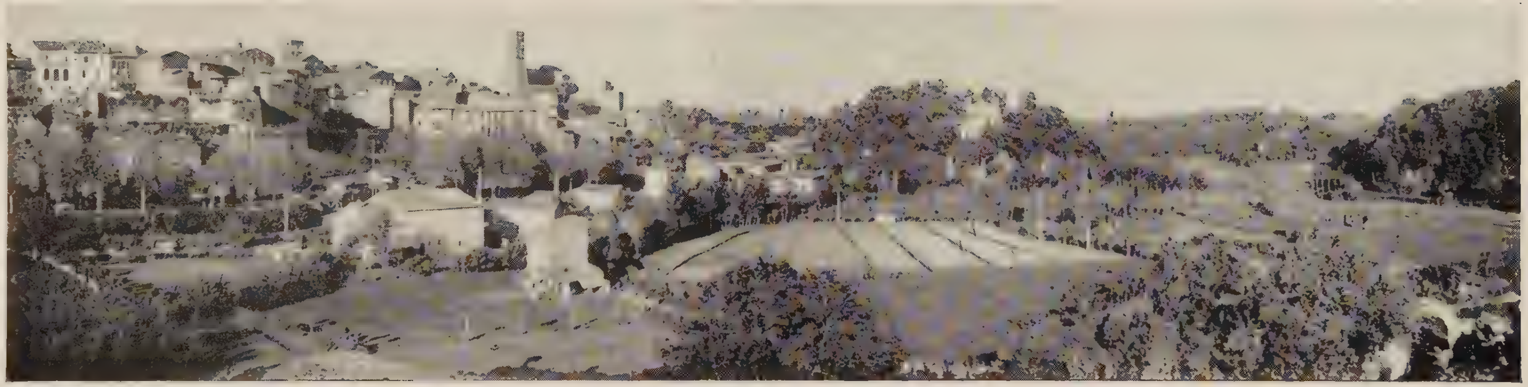
(Photos: Dept. of Antiquities)


N
Via Ciminia
SUTRI
Via Cassia
Amphitheatre
Ridge-track to West
Road to S. Giovanni a Pollo
0
500
1000
Scale of Metres.

Sutri and the Country Immediately to the West

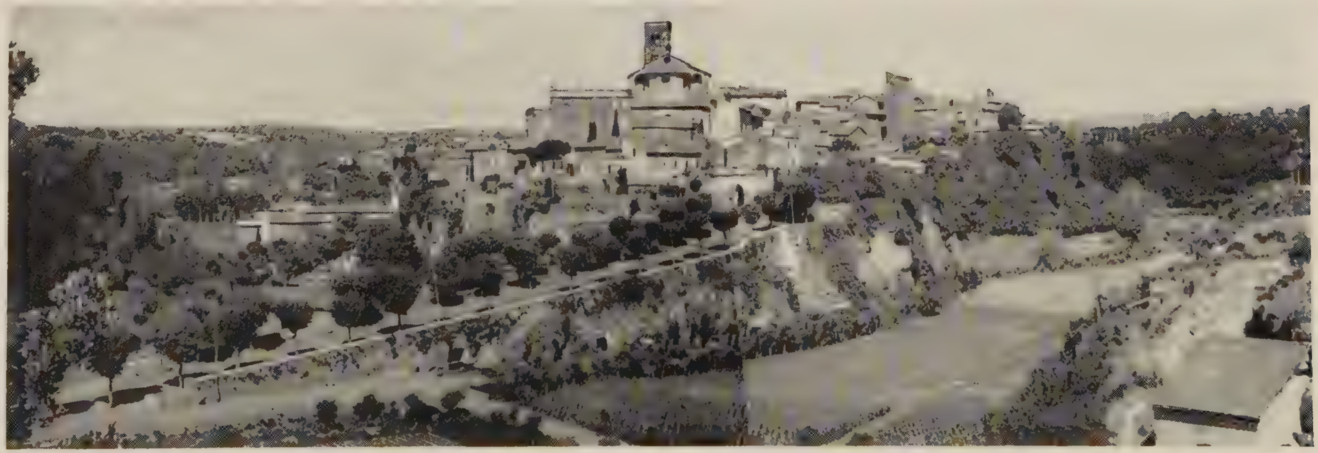
(Photo, Air Ministry: Crown Copyright Reserved)

PLATE X



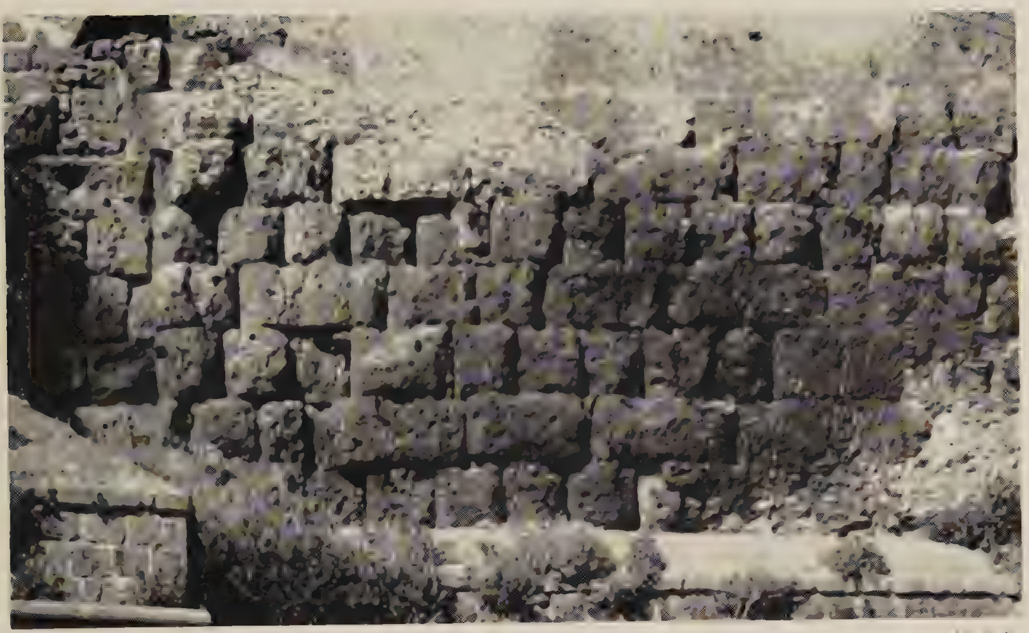
(G. C. D.)

a. Sutri and the Valley to the South of the Town, from the West



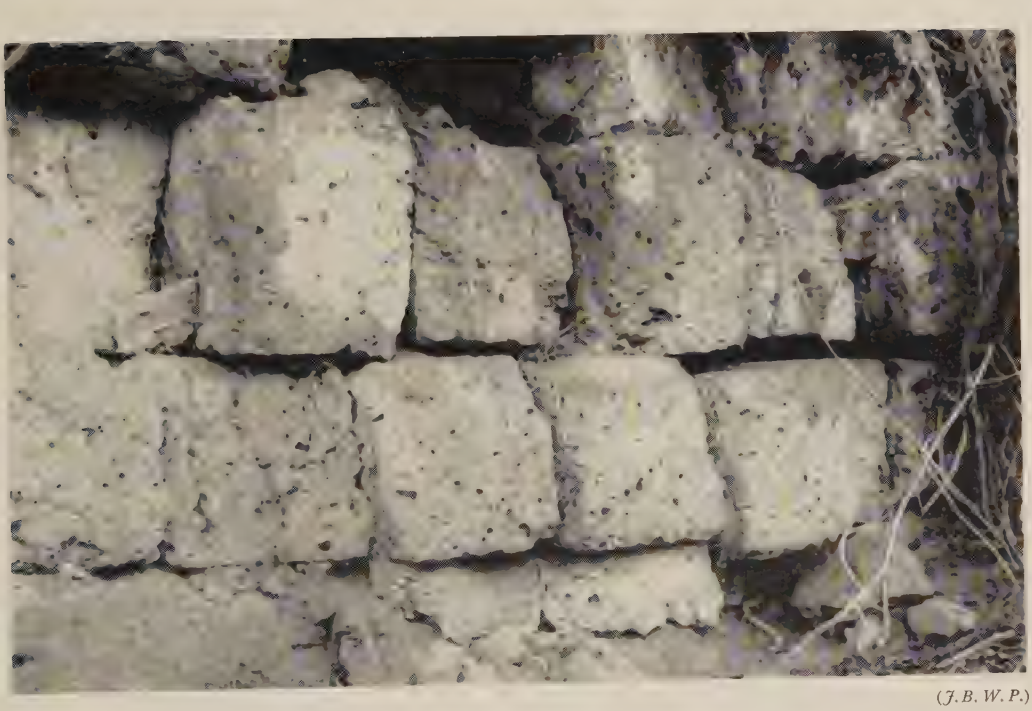
(G. C. D.)

b. Sutri: the Town, from the East



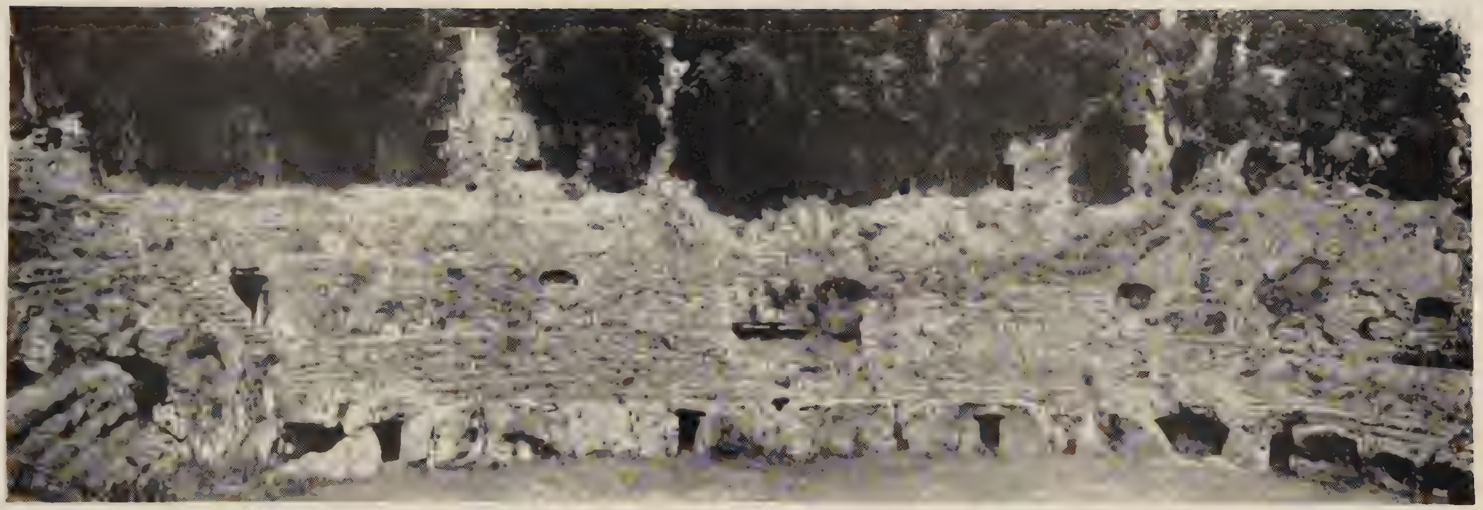
(G. C. D.)

a. Sutri : Remains of the Ancient Town Walls

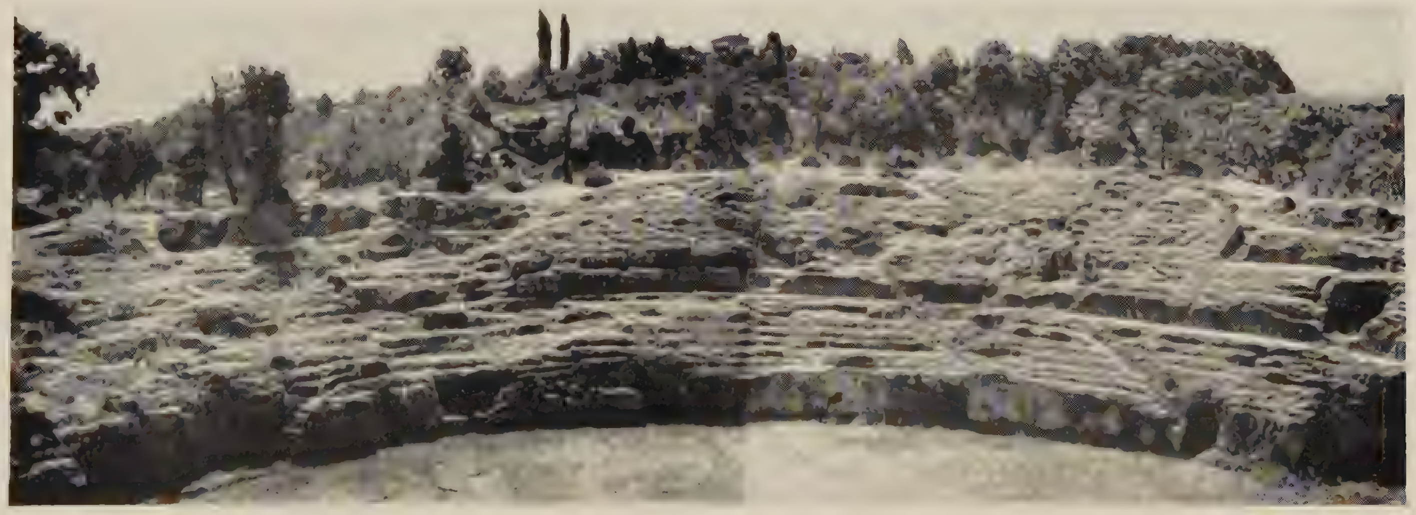


(*J. B. W. P.*)

b. Casale Castellaccio (722786) : Ancient Walling

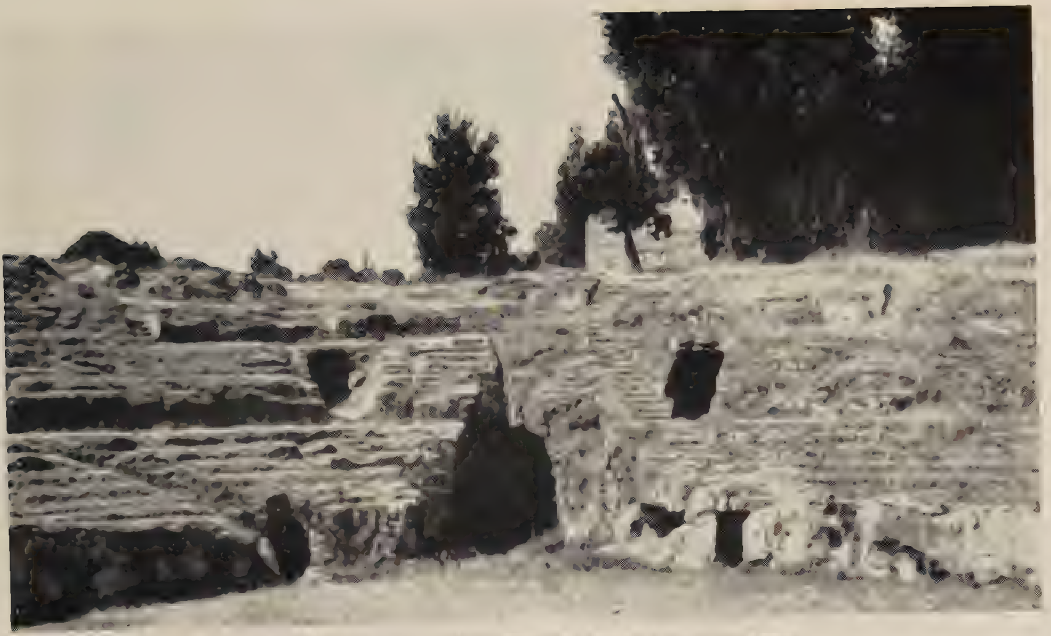


a. Sutri: the North Side of the Amphitheatre (*G. C. D.*)

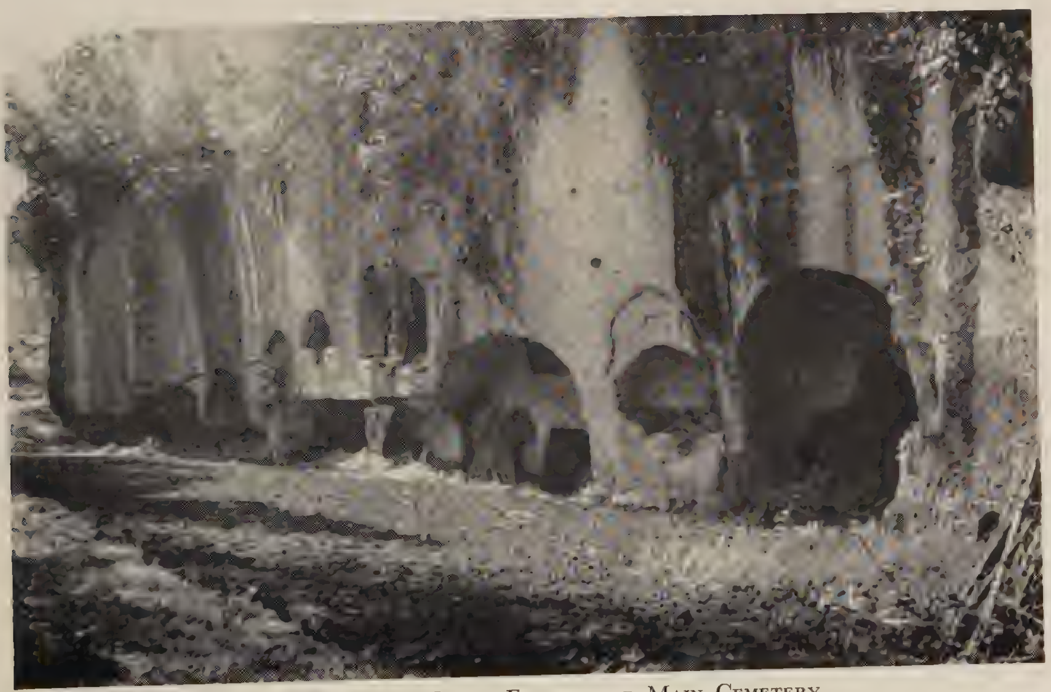


b. Sutri: the South Side of the Amphitheatre (*G. C. D.*)

PLATE XIII

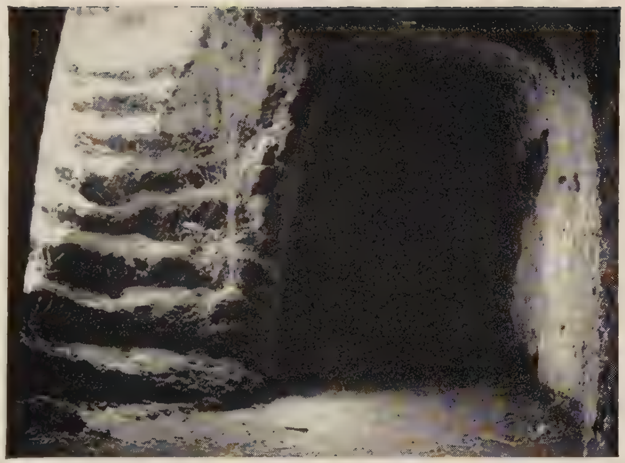


a. Sutri: the West End of the Amphitheatre

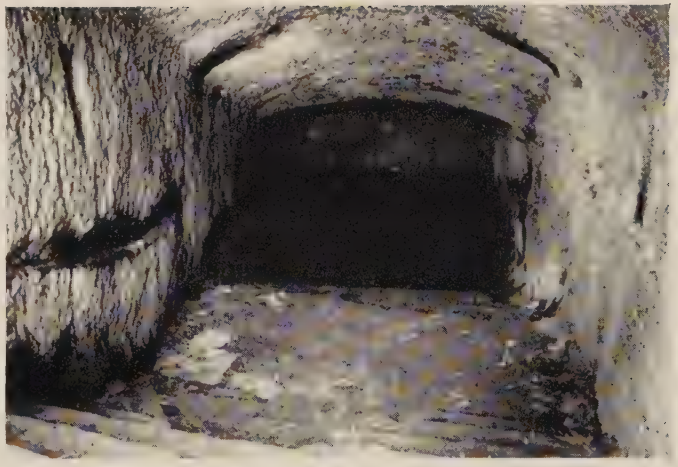


b. Sutri: the North End of the Main Cemetery

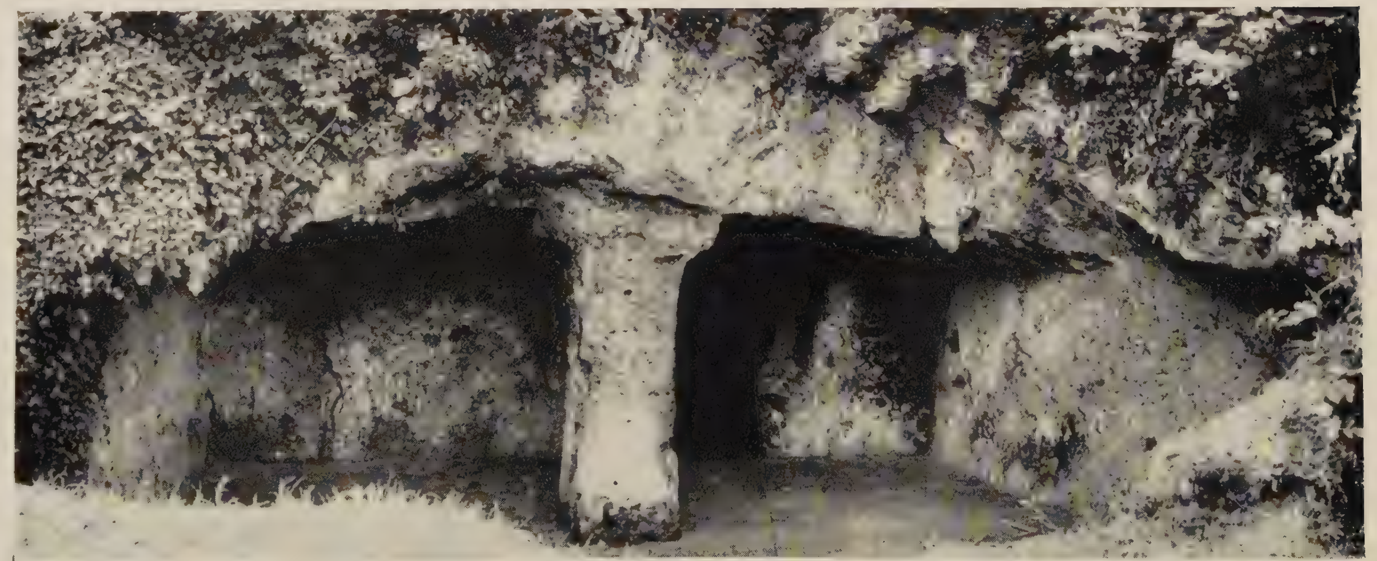
(*Photos: G. C. D.*)



a. SUTRI, THE AMPHITHEATRE: MAIN CORRIDOR AND STEPS UP TO SEATS



b. THE SAME: VOMITORIUM



c. SUTRI: 'GROTTA D'ORLANDO' (p. 74)

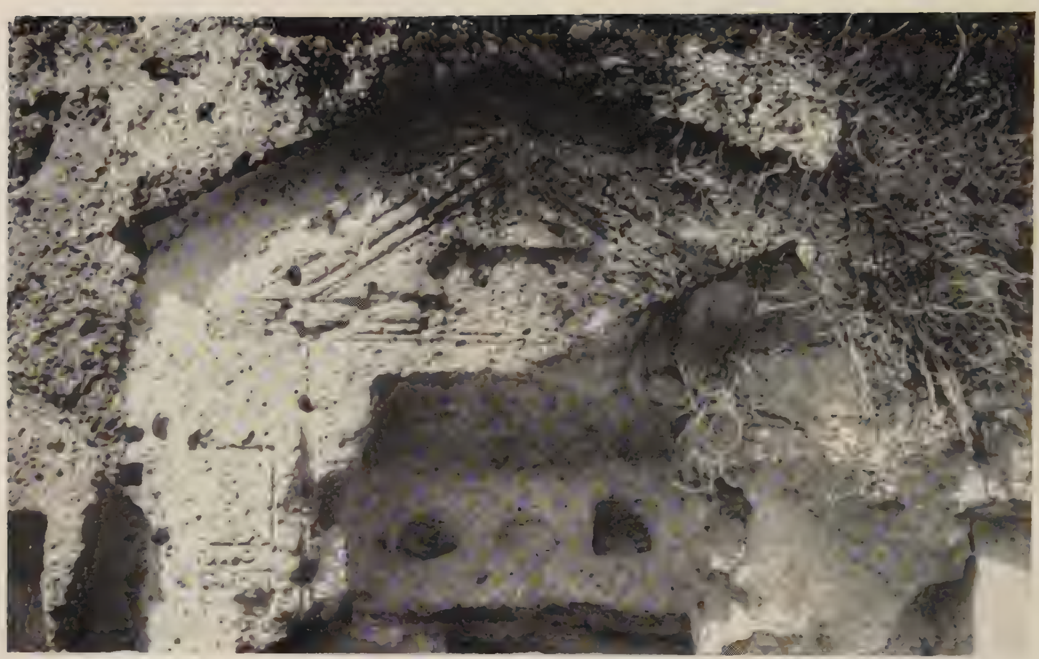
(*Photos: G. C. D.*)

a. Roman Mausoleum on South Rim of Lago di Vico (684871)

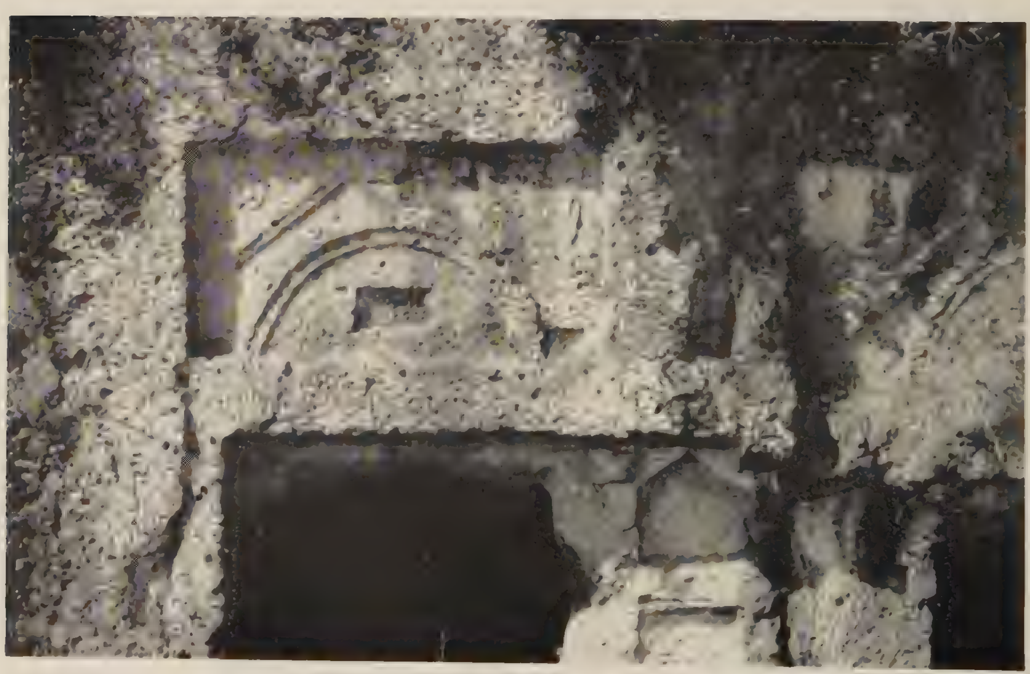
b. Roman Cistern (722818)

c. Roman Villa: Stairs to Underground Chambers (692872)

(*Photos: G. C. D.*)



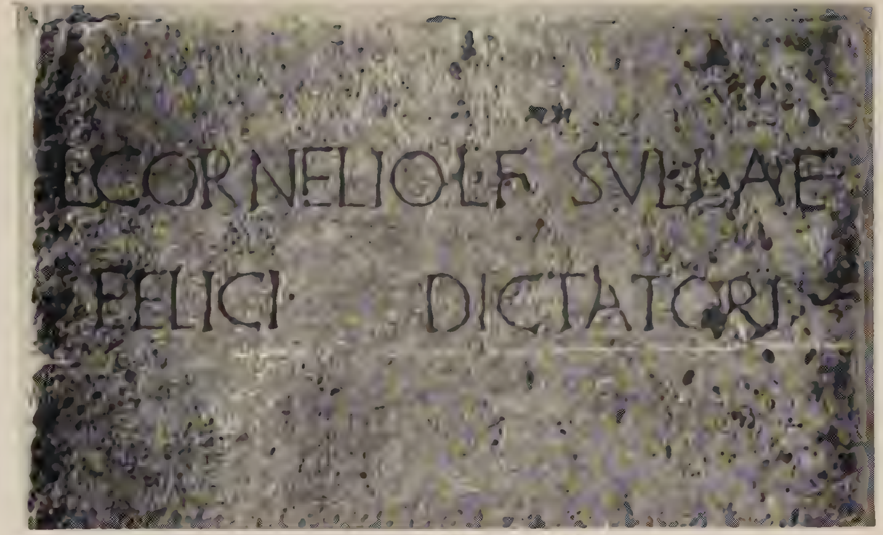
a. Sutri, Main Cemetery: Tomb Façade



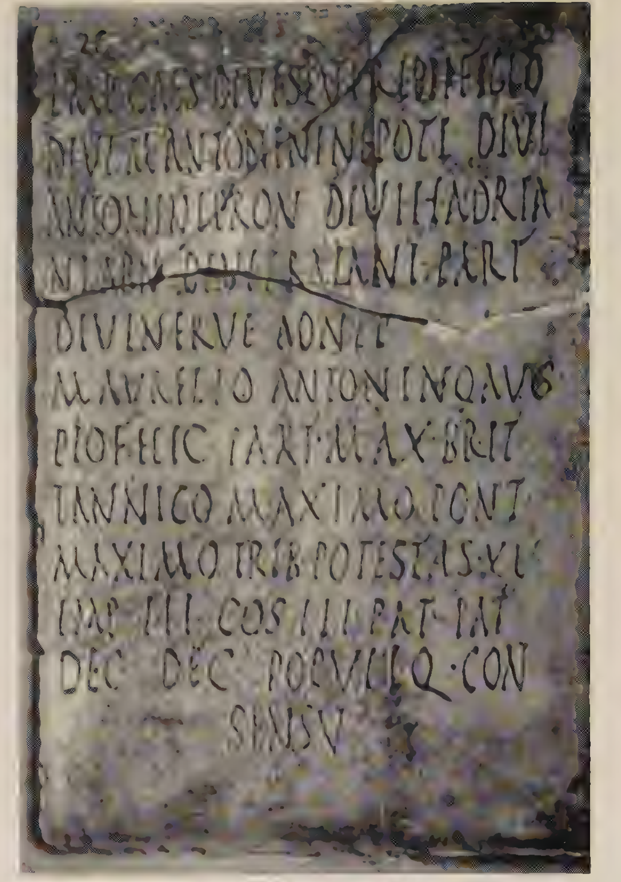
b. Sutri, Main Cemetery: Columbarium Facade

(*Photos: G. C. D.*)

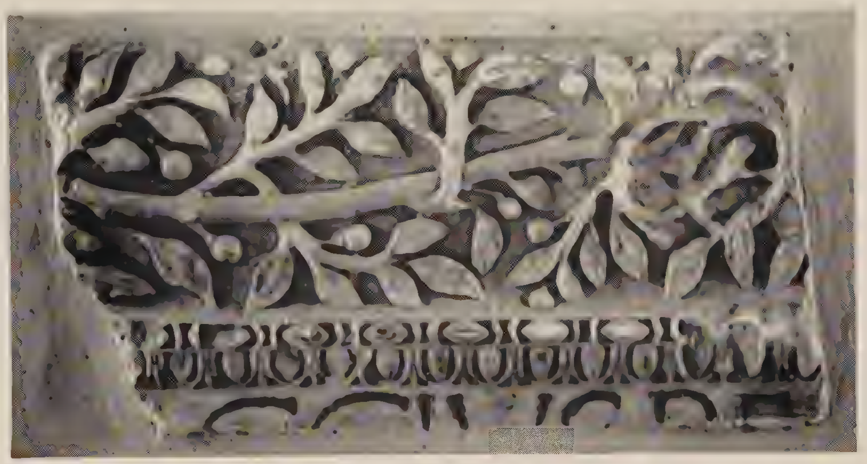
PLATE XVII


L·CORNELIO·L·F· SVLLAE
FELICI DICTATORI

a. *CIL* XI, 7542

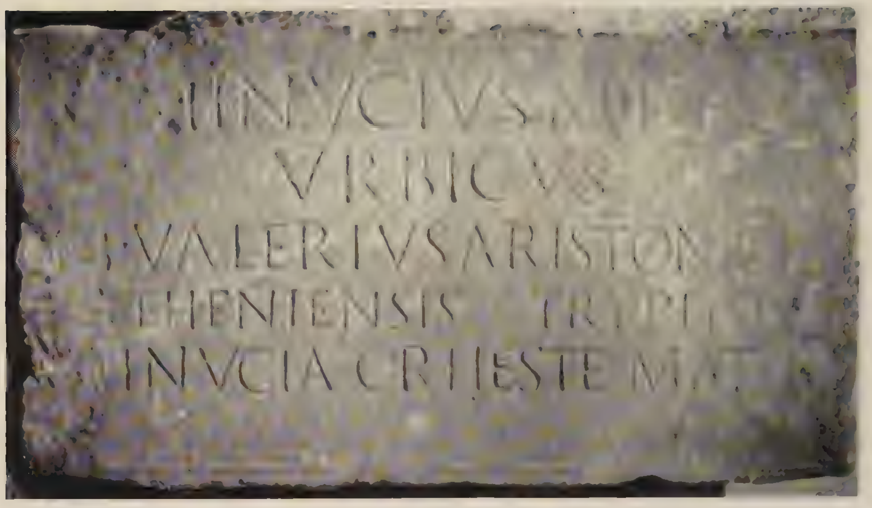

DIVI M ANTONINI NEPOTI DIVI
ANTONINI PRON DIVI HADRIA
NI ABN DIVI TRAIANI PART
DIVI NERVAE ADNEP
M AVRELIO ANTONINO AVG
PIO FELIC PART MAX BRIT
TANNICO MAXIMO PONT
MAXIMO TRIB POTESTAS XV
IMP III COS IIII PAT PAT
DEC DEC POPVLVSQ CON
SENSV

c. *CIL* XI, 3250

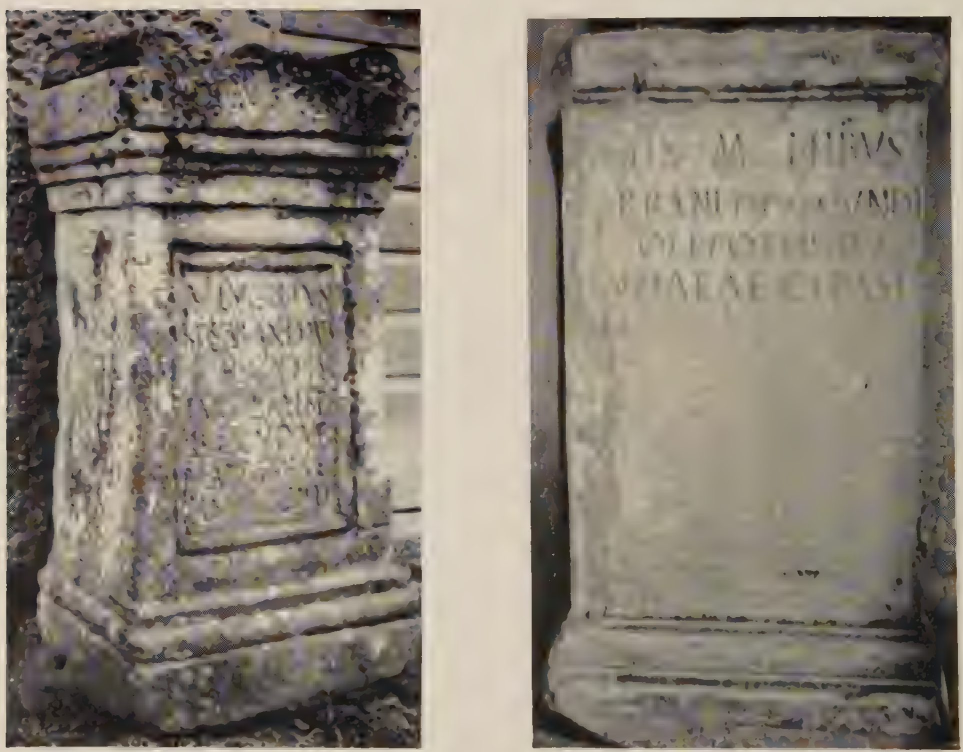


b. Unpublished Fragment of an Inscription in Sutri Town Hall

(Photo: B.S.R.)


VRBICVS
VALERIVSARISTON
INVCIA CRHESTE

a. Ronciglione (*CIL* XI, 7545)



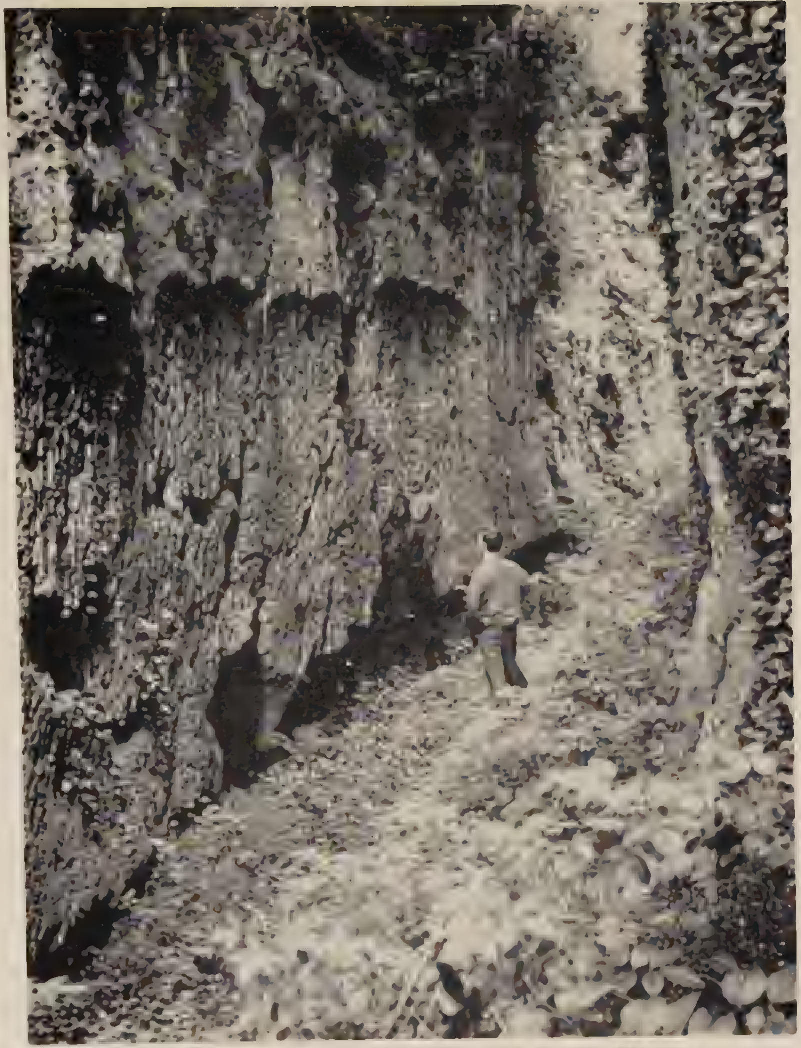
b. Casale Sant' Angelo

c. Ronciglione

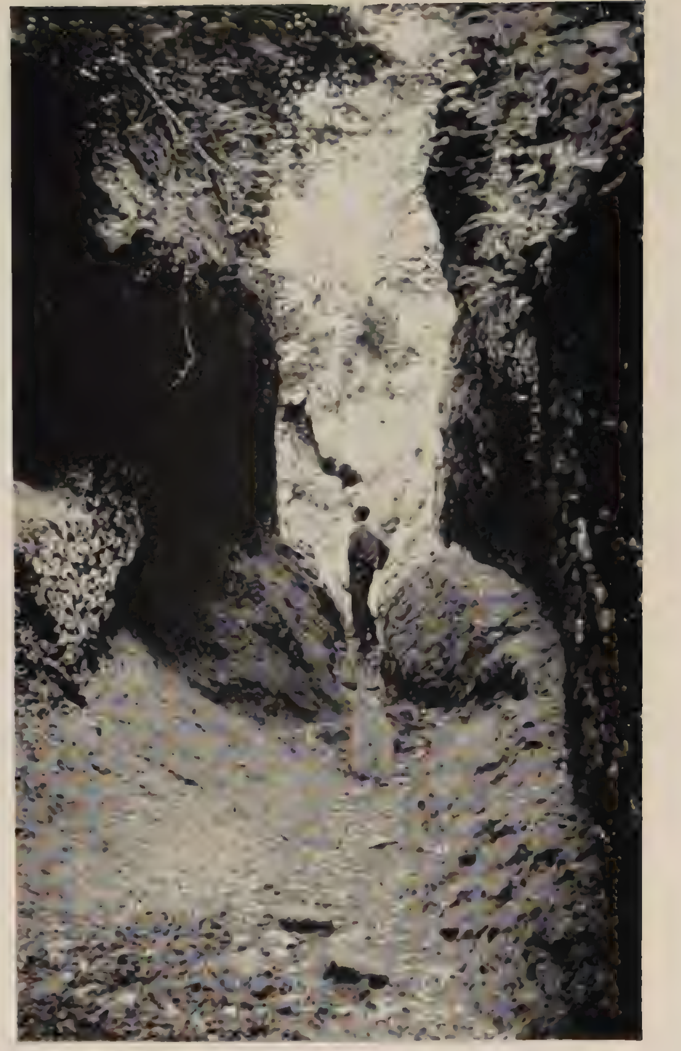
Inscriptions from the Sutri District

(*Photos: G. C. D.*)

PLATE XIX

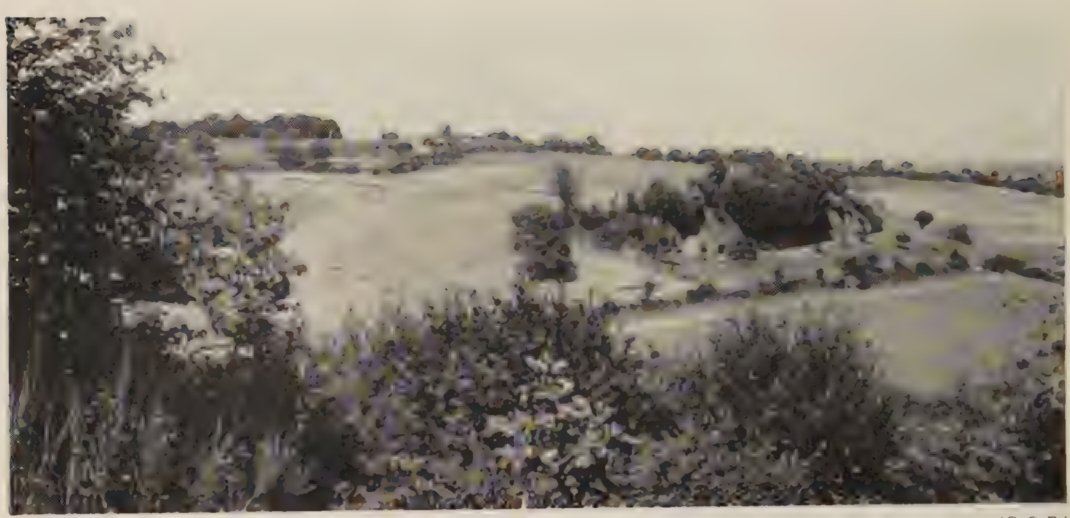


a. ETRUSCAN ROAD-CUTTING SOUTH OF SUTRI (711801)



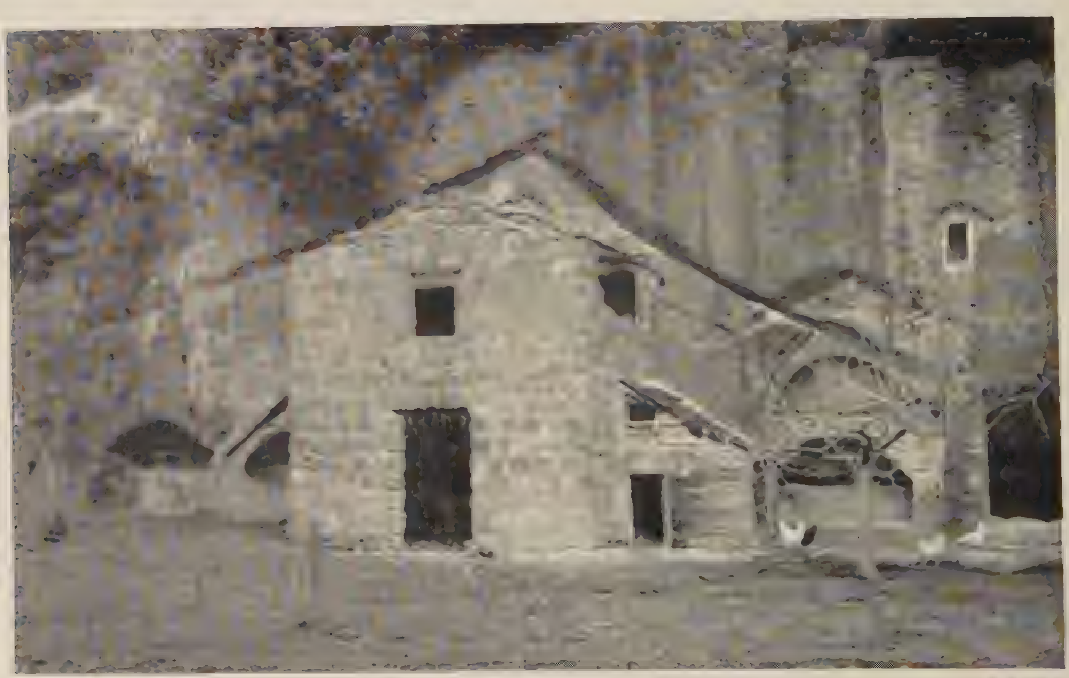
b. ROMAN ROAD-CUTTING, JUST EAST OF *a* (712800)

(*Photo.* G. C. D.)



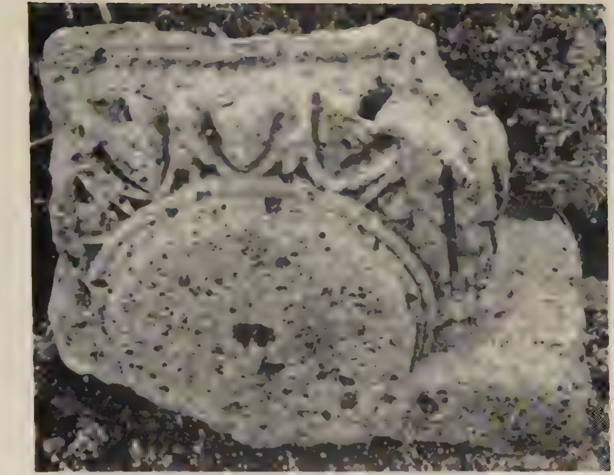
(*G. C. D.*)

a. San Giovanni a Pollo (701785) from the South-west

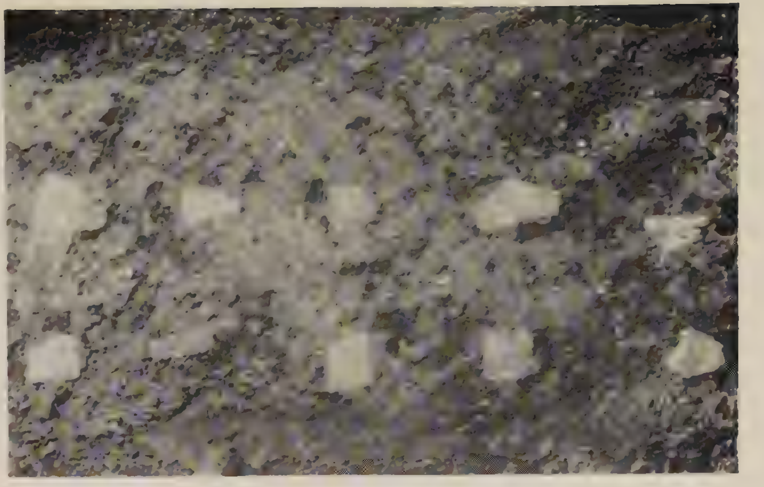


(*J. B. W. P.*)

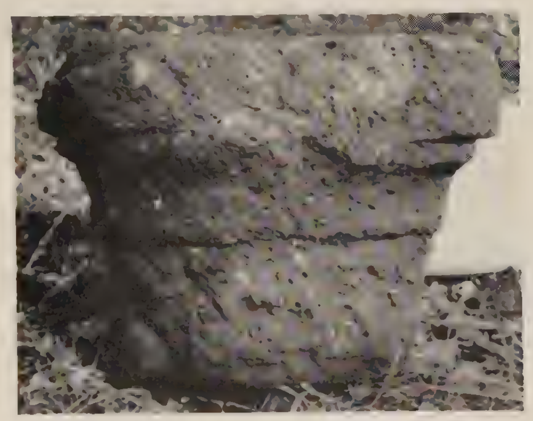
b. San Giovanni a Pollo: Chapel and Rock-cut Tombs



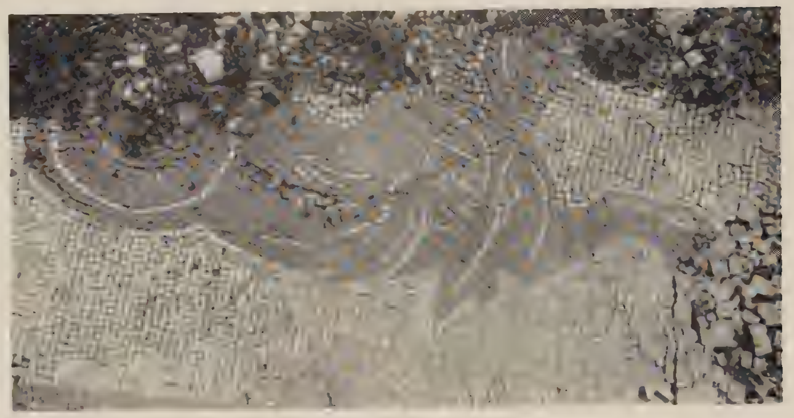
a. San Giovanni a Pollo : Engaged Ionic Capital



b. Casale Castellaccio (722786) : Pavement



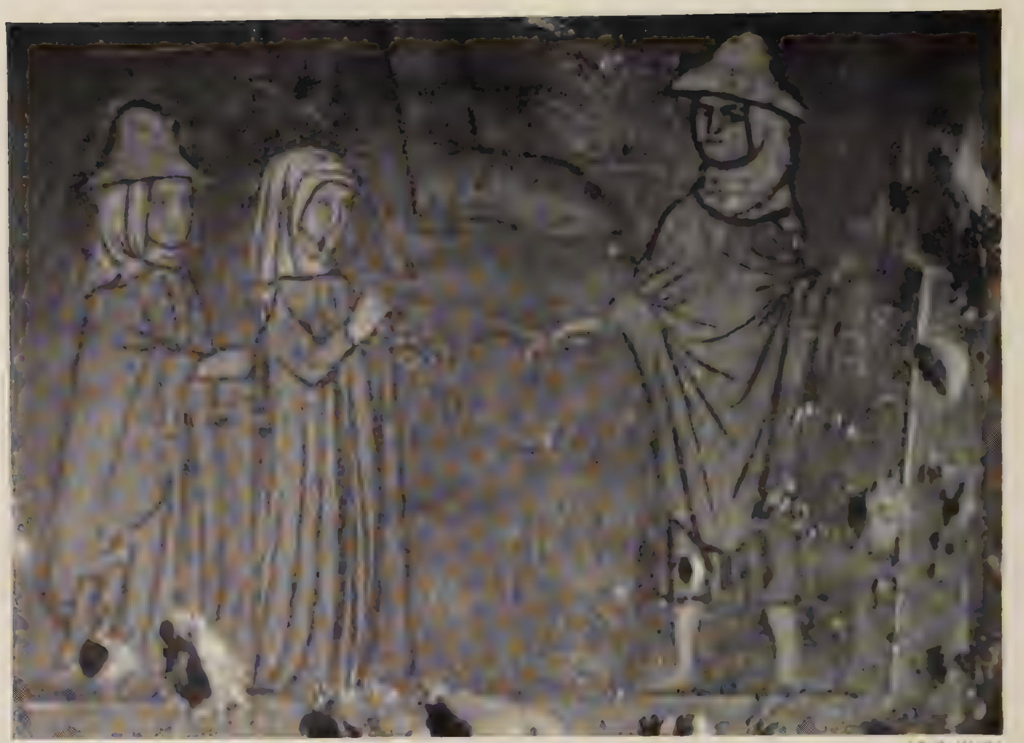
c. Roman Bath-house, North-east of Sutri (720829) : Capital



d. The Same : Part of Mosaic Pavement

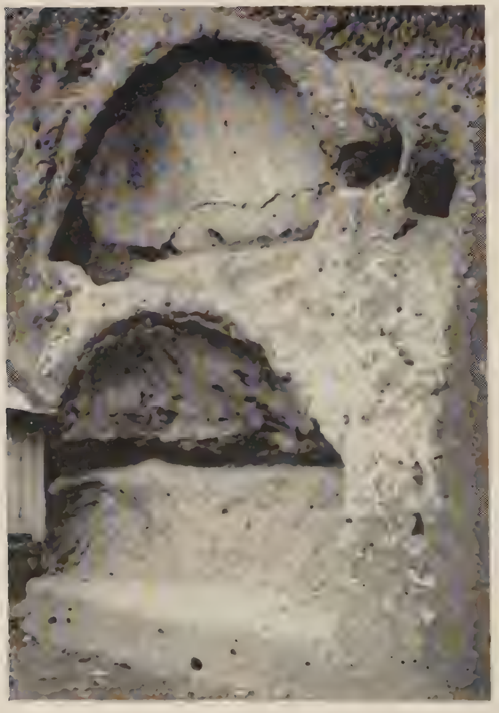
(*Photos: a, J. B. W. P.; b–d, G. C. D.*)

PLATE XXII



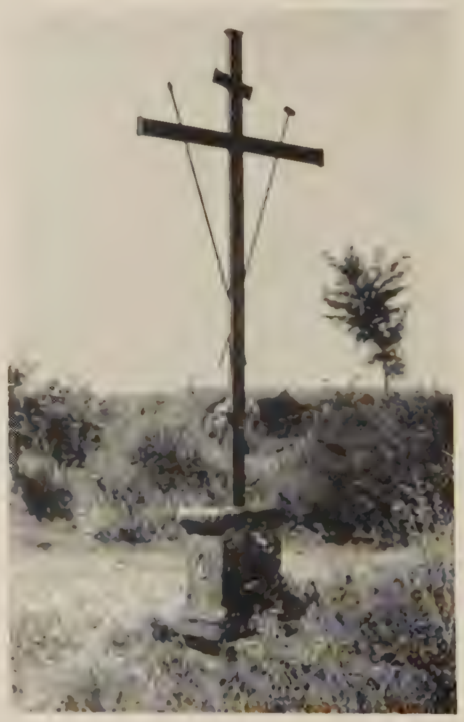
(J.B.W.P.)

a. Sutri, La Madonna del Parto: Wall-painting



(J.B.W.P.)

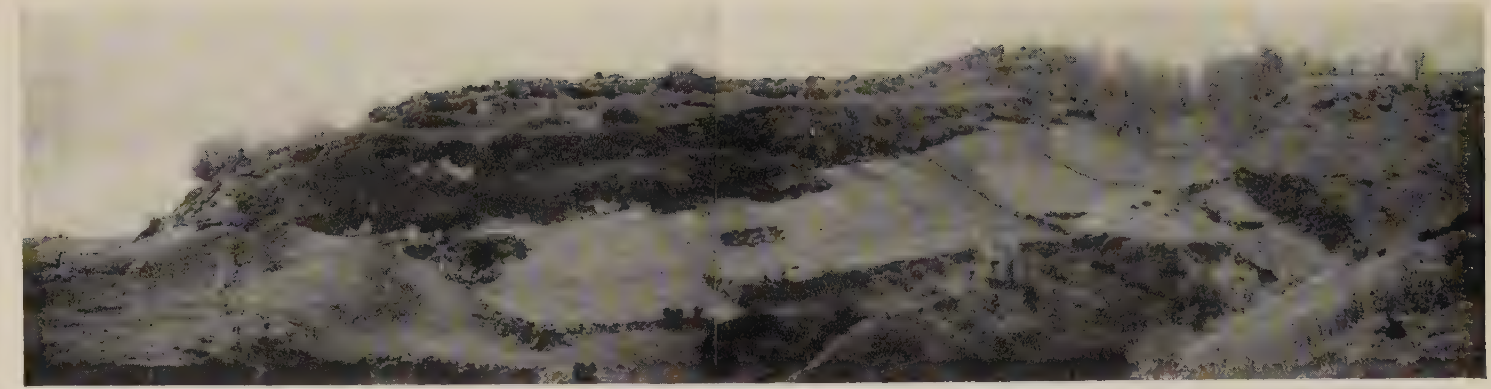
b. San Giovanni a Pollo: Rock-cut Tombs



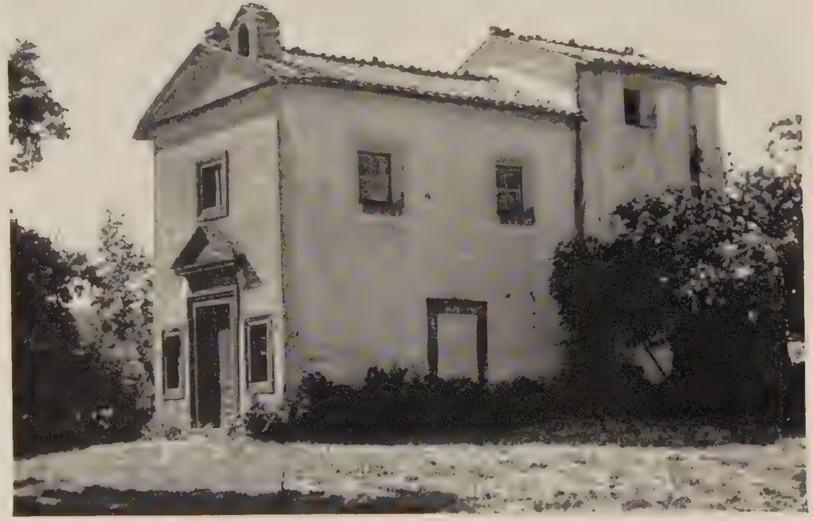
(G. C. D.)

c. Ronciglione: Crucifix and Roman Altar

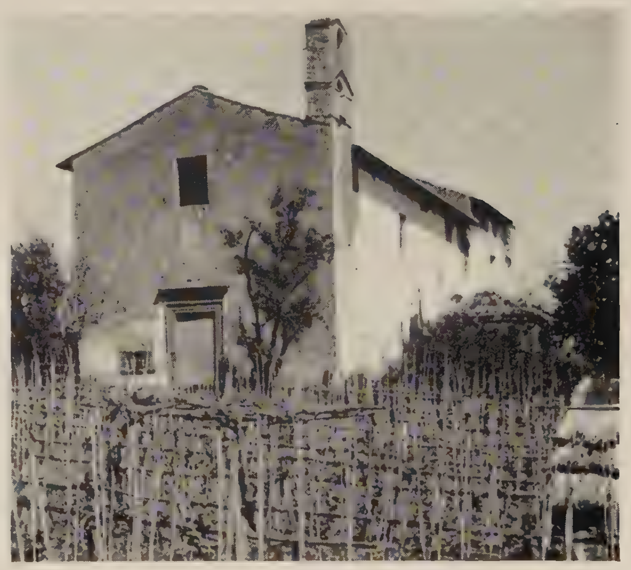
PLATE XXIII



a. The Site of Vico Castle (696881), from the East

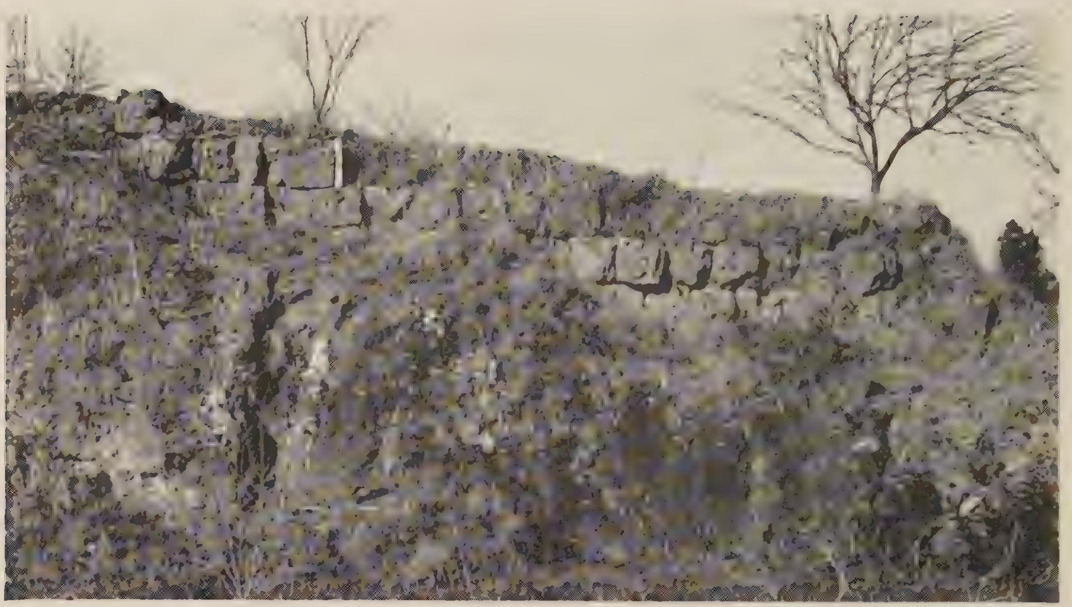


b. Ss. Pietro e Filippo Neri, near Ronciglione

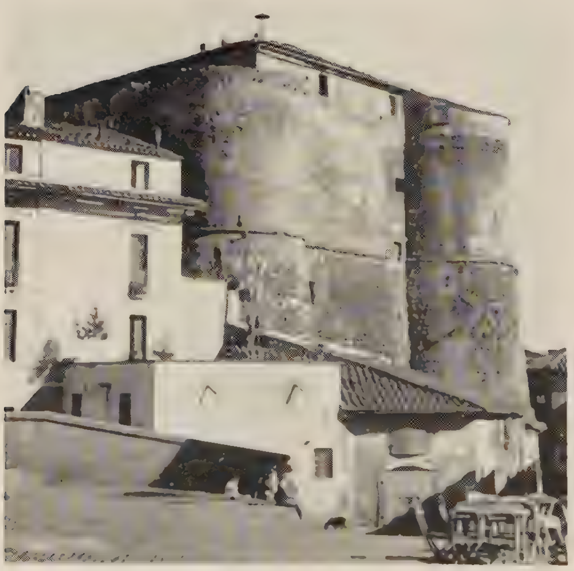


c. S. Egidio, near Ronciglione

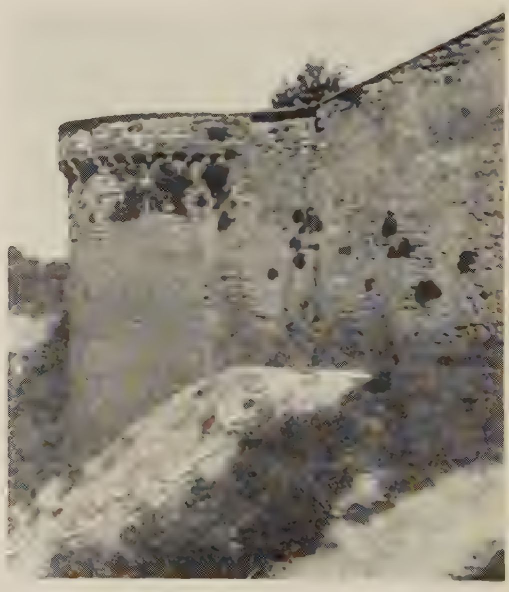
(*Photos: G. C. D.*)



a. 'Il Castellaccio', near Capranica (680807)



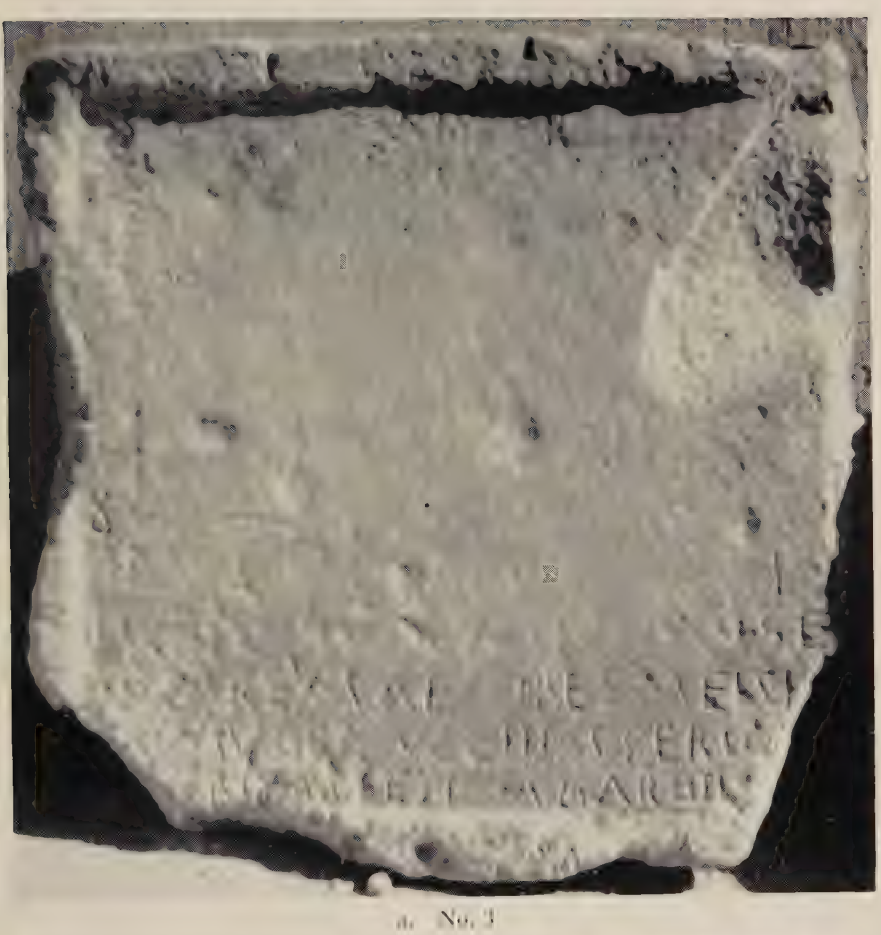
b. Ronciglione, the Castle



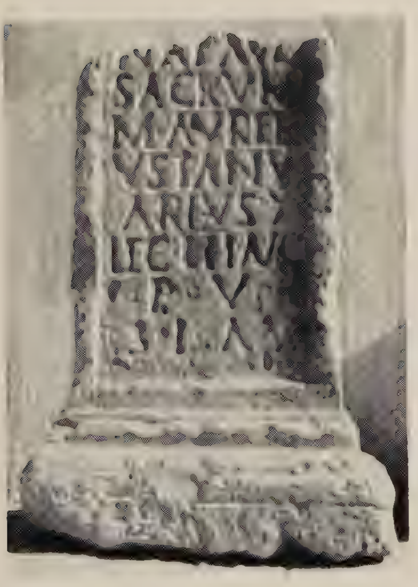
c. Sutri, North-west Corner Tower

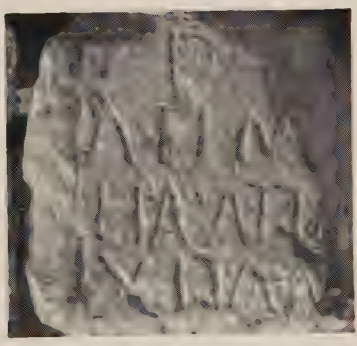
(*Photos: G. C. D.*)

PLATE XXV



a. No. 3



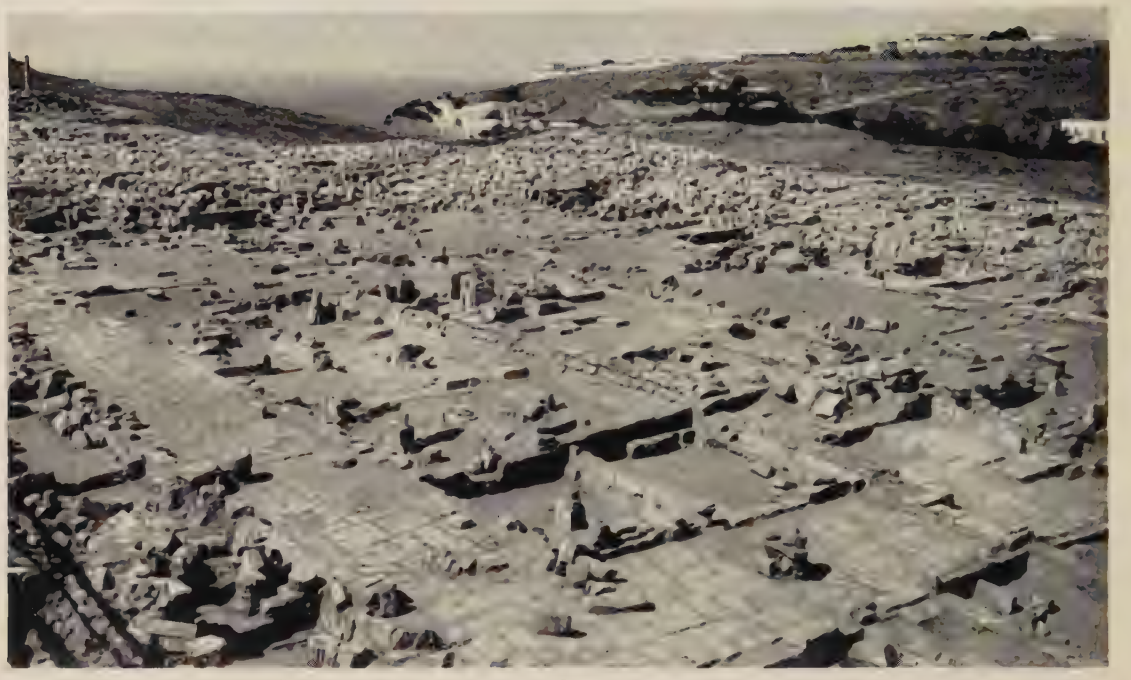


b, left. No. 1

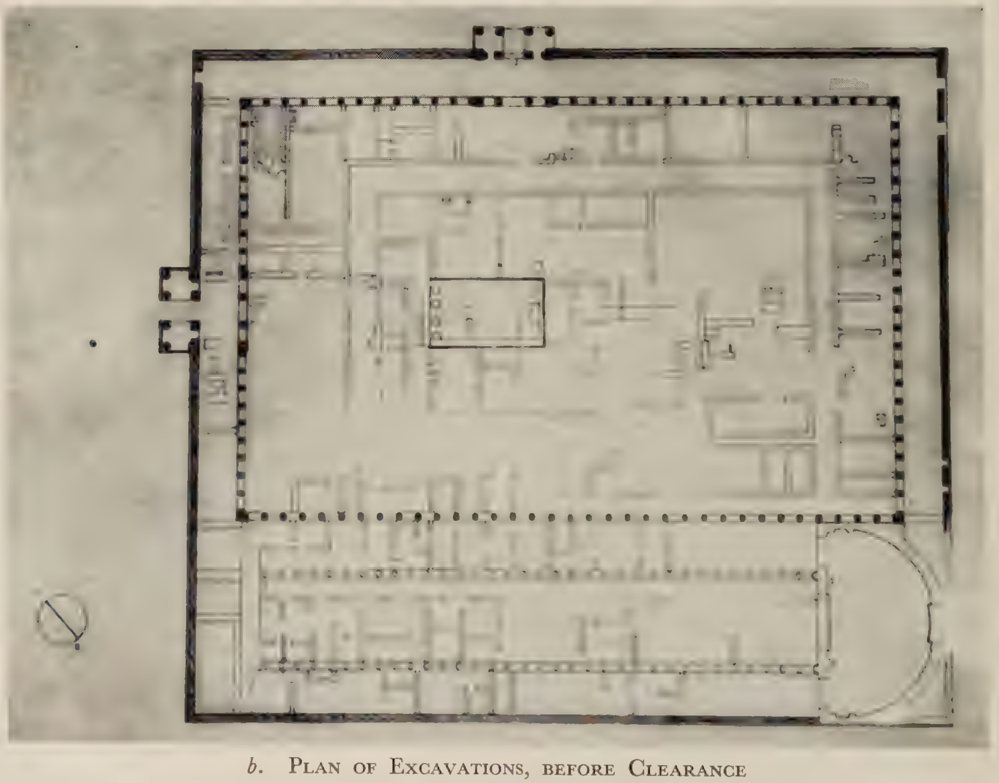
c above. No. 2

(Photos: a. b. J. Barron; c. O. Brogan)

INSCRIPTIONS AT GHADAMES (pp. 135-6)



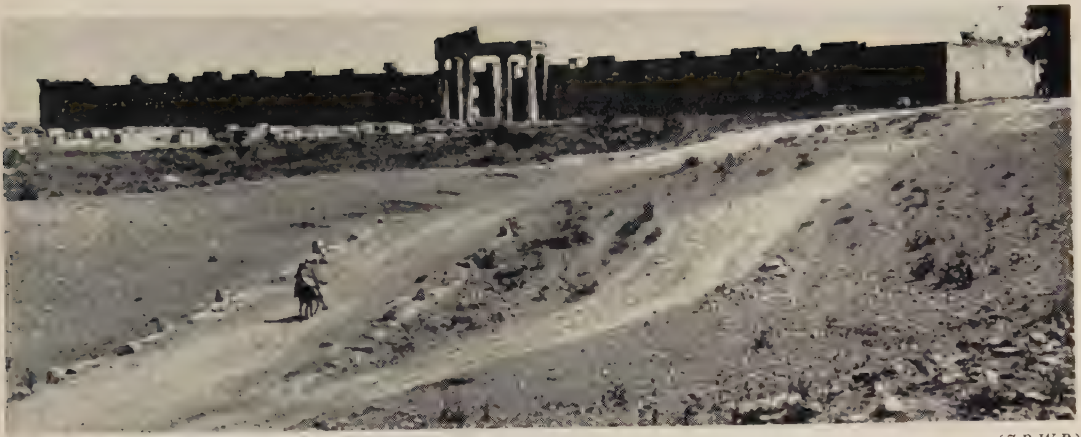
a. Looking North, before Clearance and Restoration



b. Plan of Excavations, before Clearance

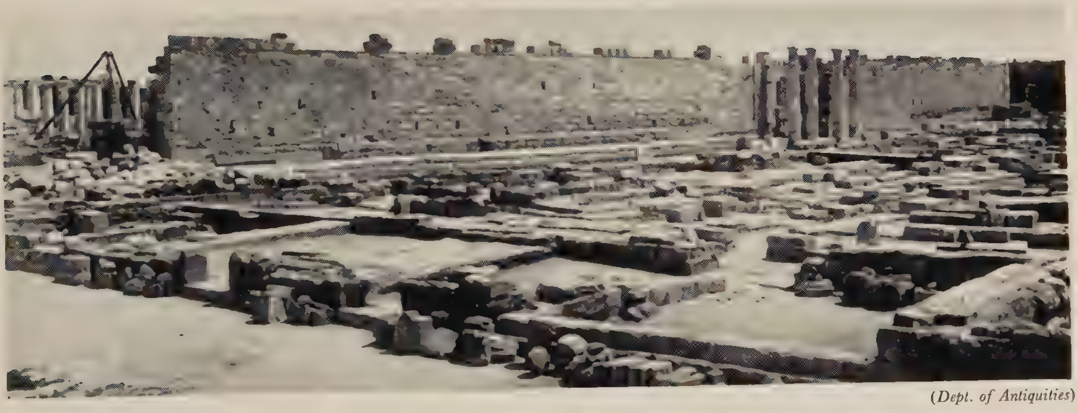
Cyrene, Caesareum

(Photo and Plan: Dept. of Antiquities)



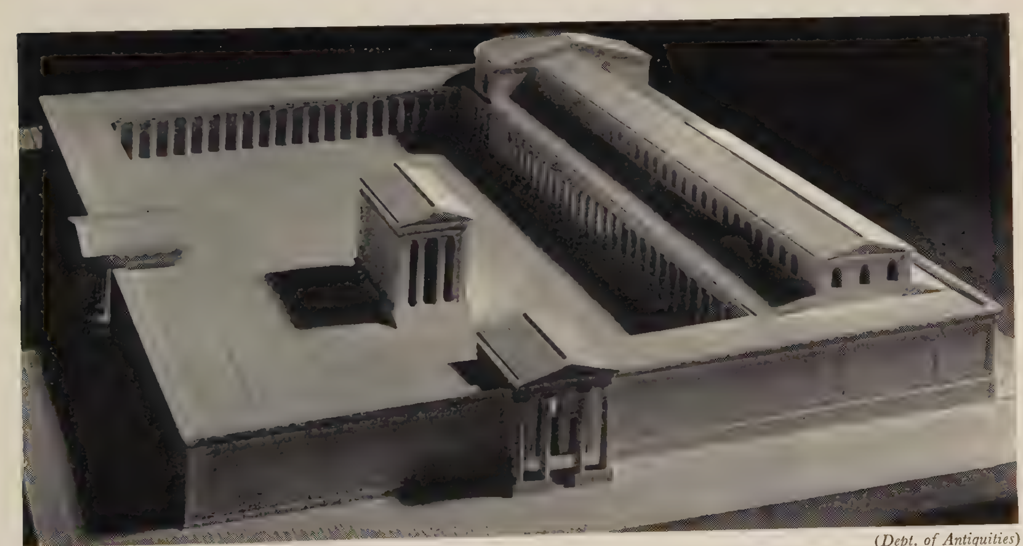
(*J.B.W.P.*)

a. South-west Façade



(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

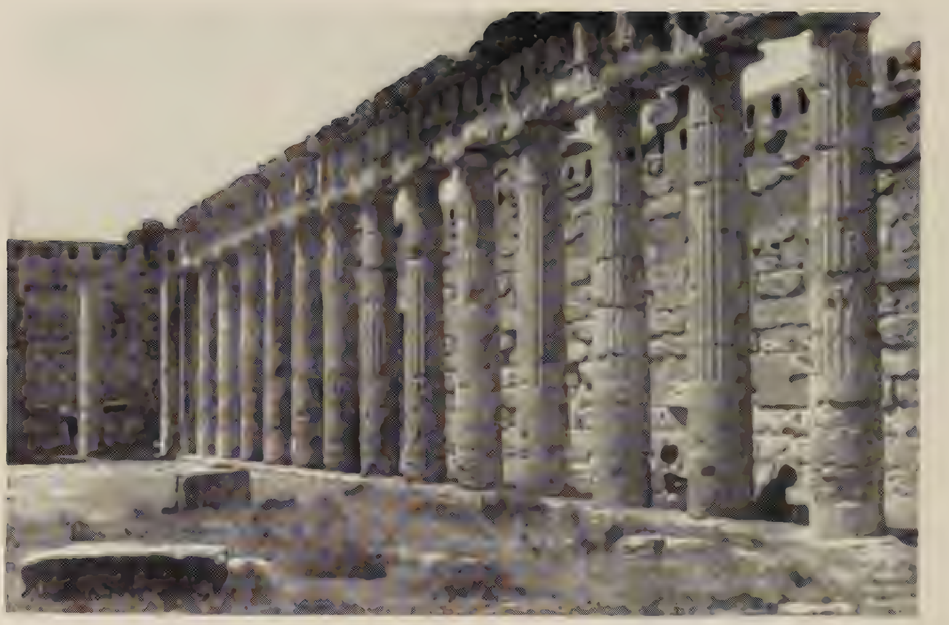
b. South-west Façade, during Reconstruction



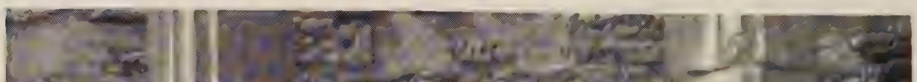
(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

c. Restored Model, in the Mostra della Romanità

Cyrene, Caesareum



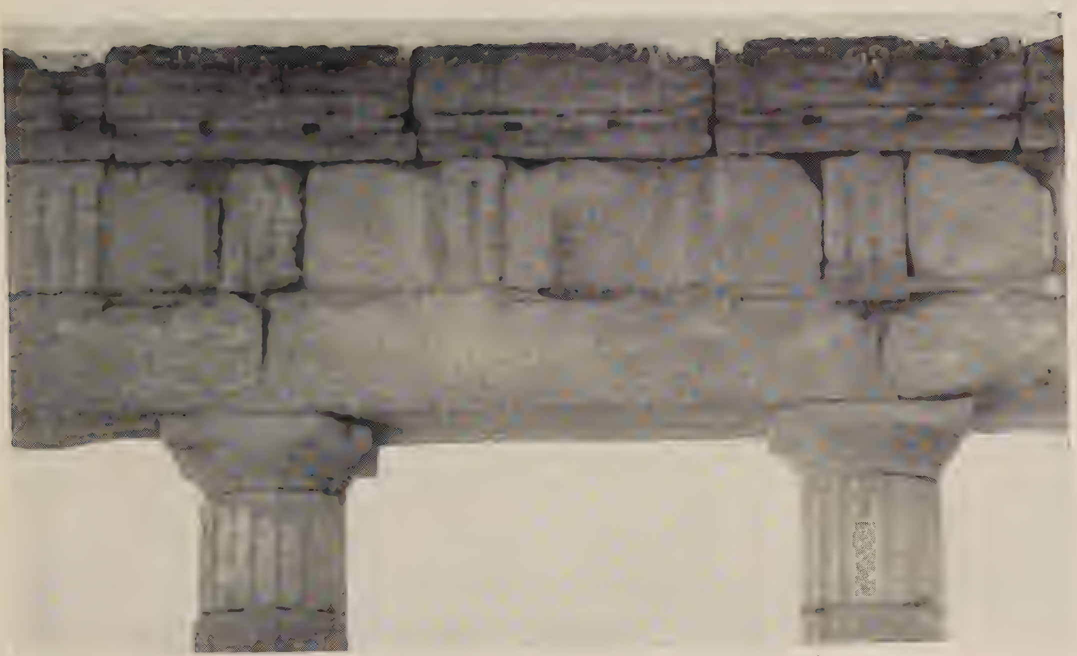
a. North-west Colonnade of Quadriporticus



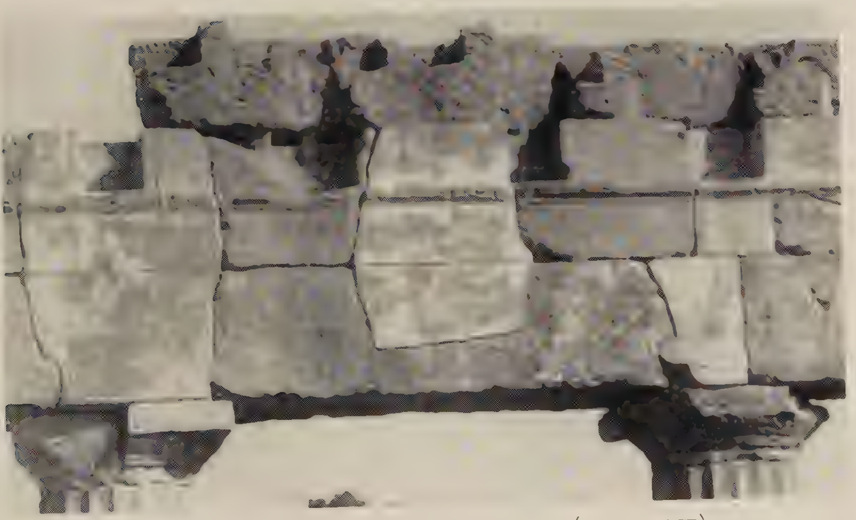
b. South-west Colonnade of Quadriporticus

Cyrene, Caesareum

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



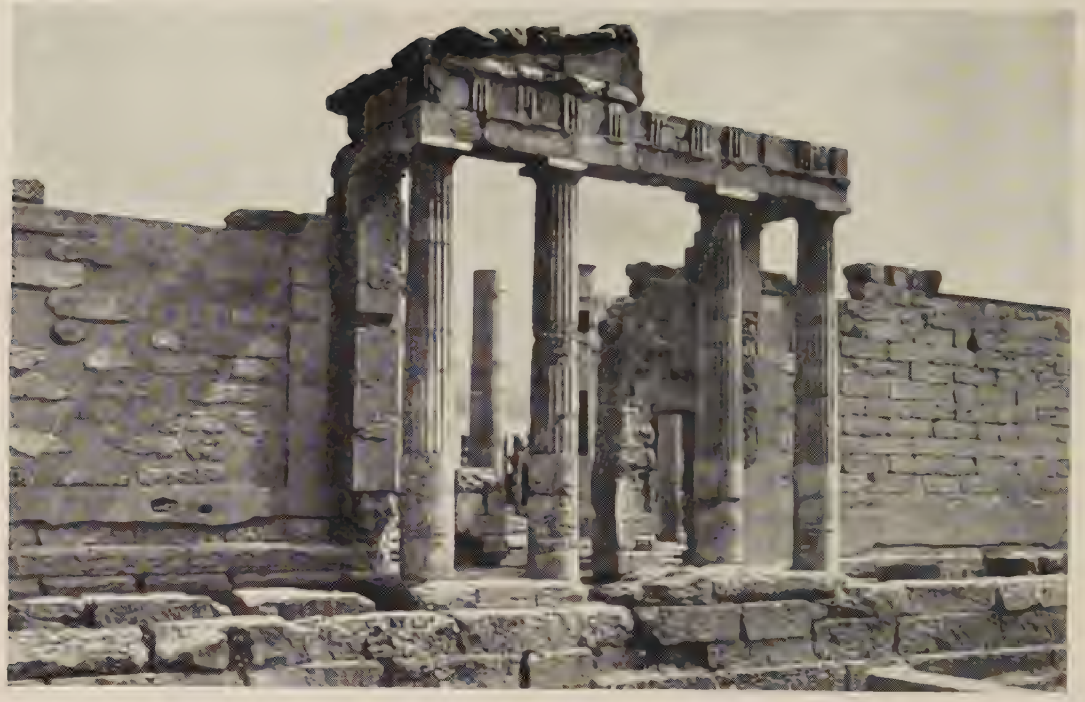
a. Entablature of Quadriporticus (outer face)



b. Entablature of Quadriporticus (inner face)

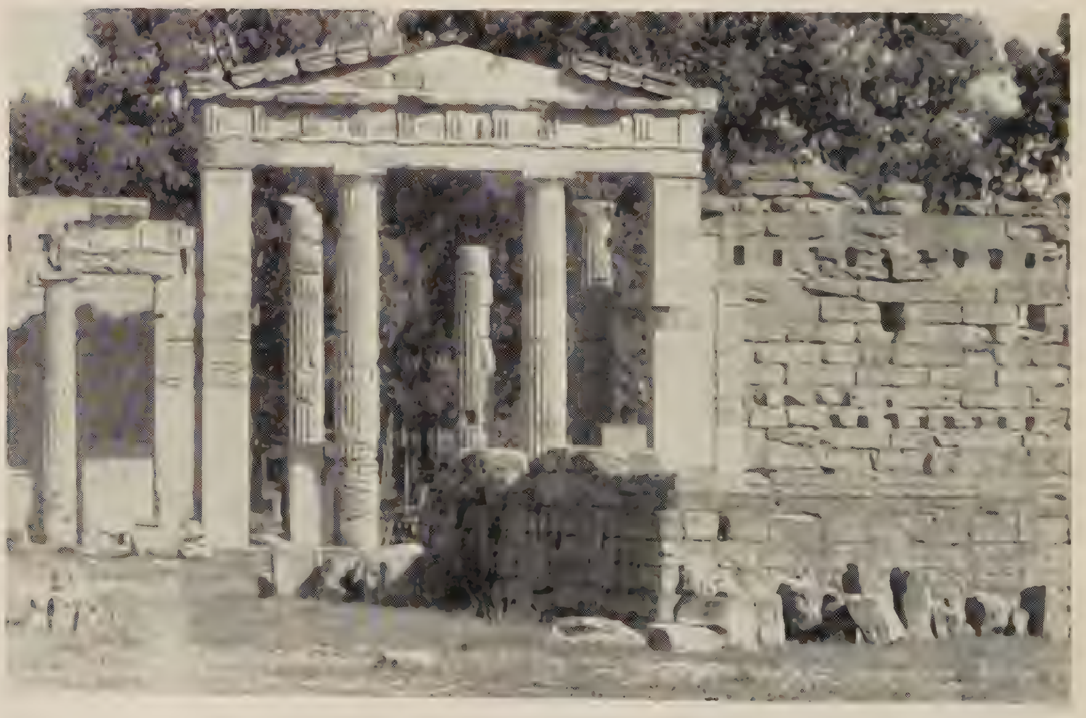
Photos: *J.B.W.P.*)

Cyrene, Caesareum



(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

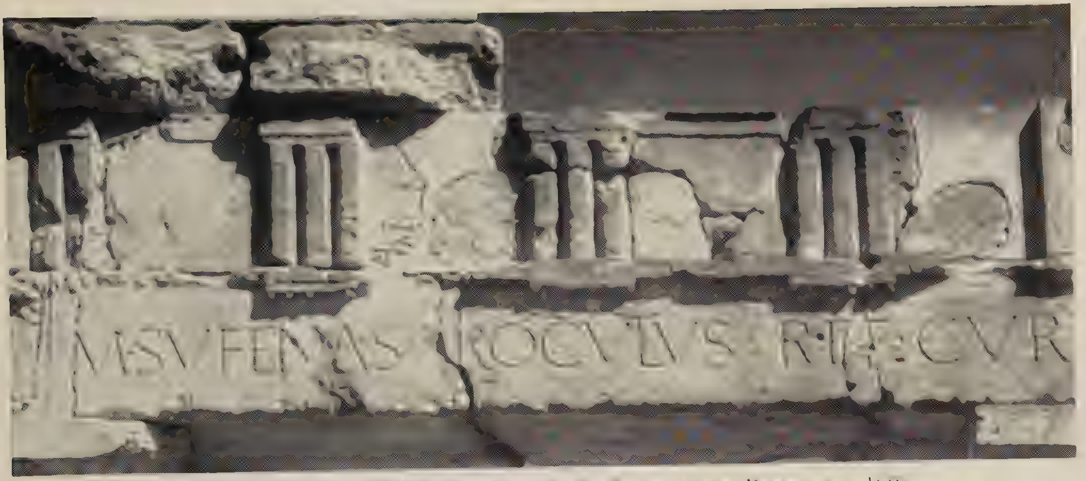
a. South-west Porch, Outer Façade



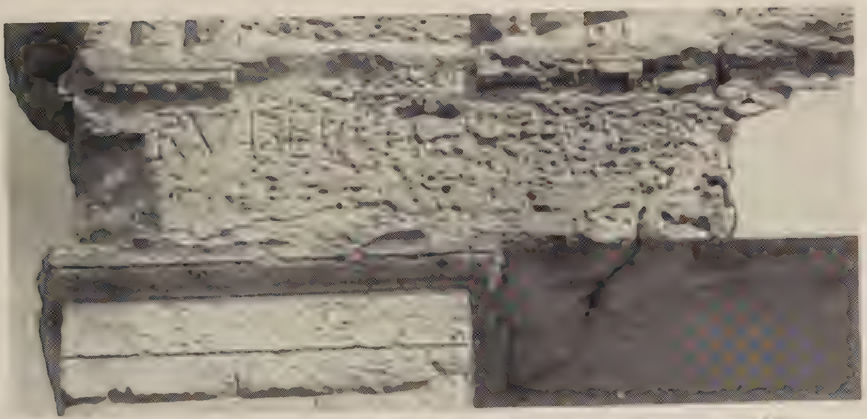
(*J.B.W.P.*)

b. South-east Porch, Inner Façade

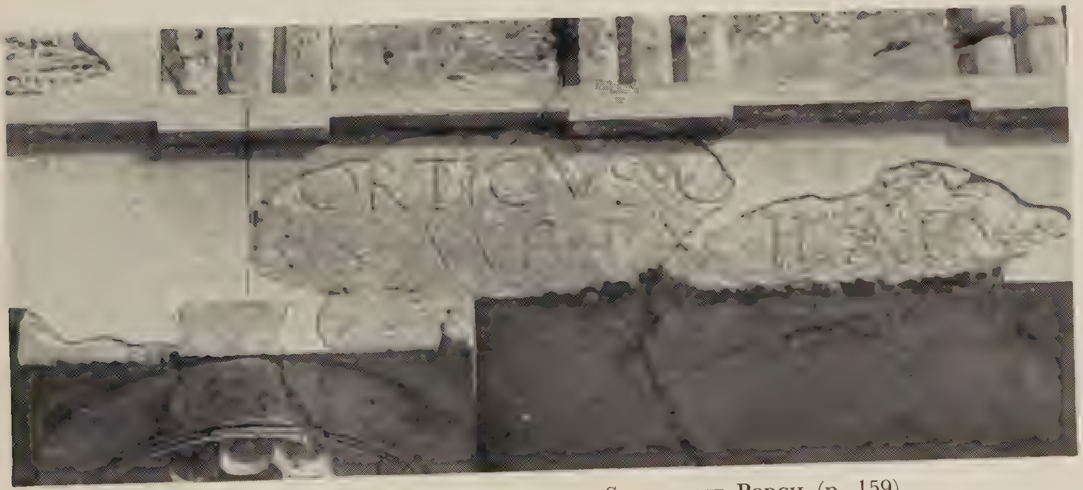
Cyrene, Caesareum


MSVFENAS ROCVLVS RTE CVR

a. Inscription on Outer Façade of South-west Porch (p. 160)



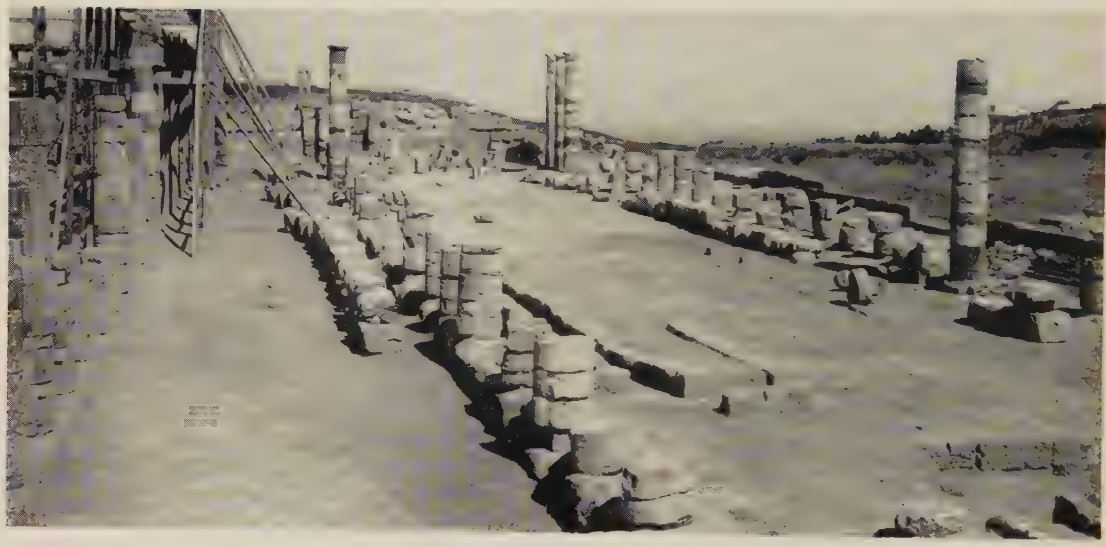
b. Inscription on Inner Façade of South-east Porch (p. 159)



c. Inscription on Inner Façade of South-east Porch (p. 159)

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

Cyrene, Caesareum



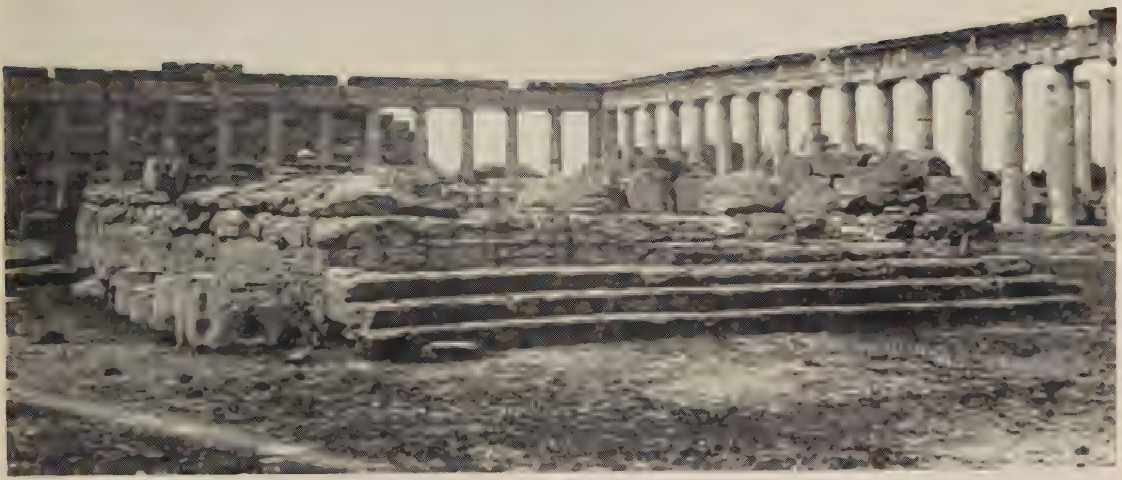
a. Basilica, Looking towards the Apse

(Dept. of Antiquities)

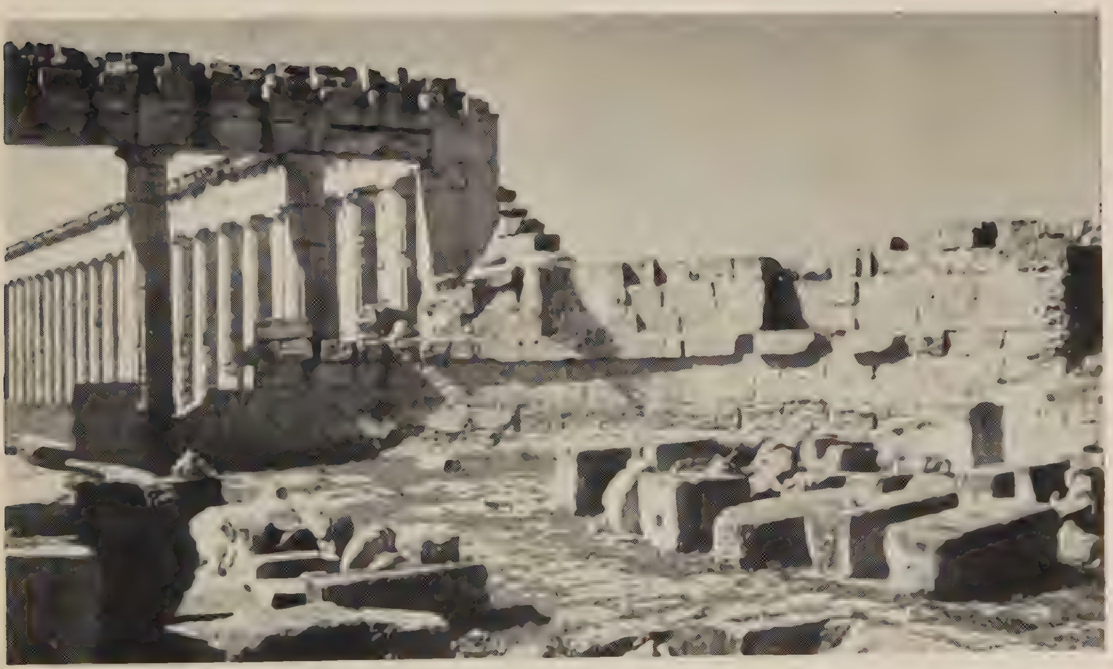
b. South-west Aisle of the Basilica, Looking towards the Apse

(J.B.W.P.)

Cyrene, Caesareum



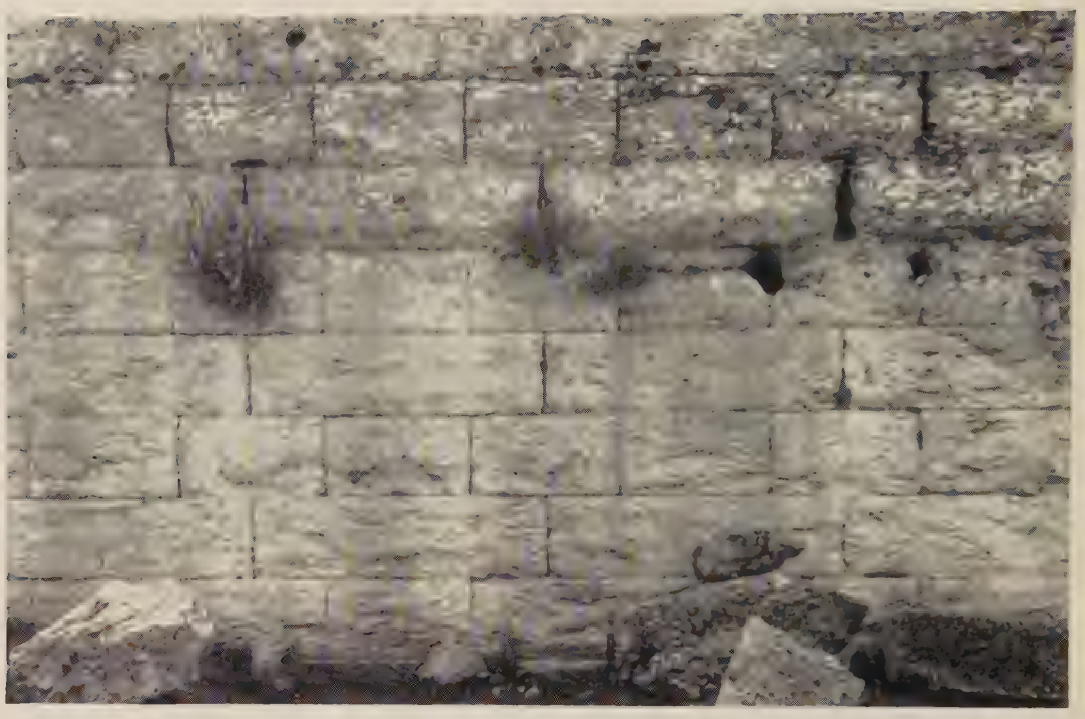
a. Temple



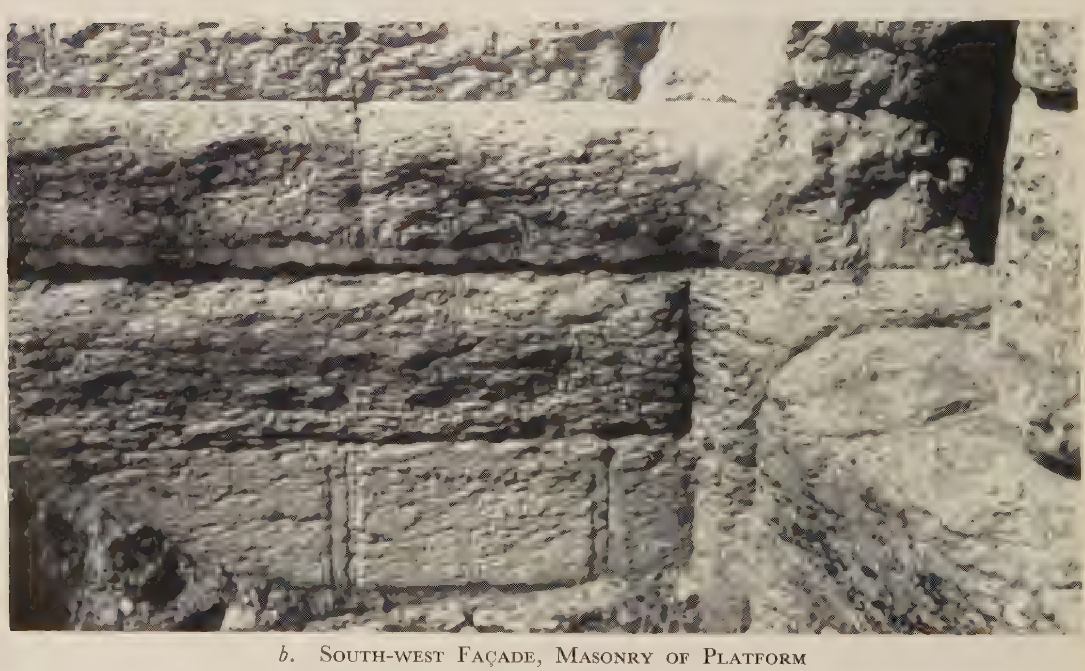
b. Apse of the Basilica

Cyrene, Caesareum

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



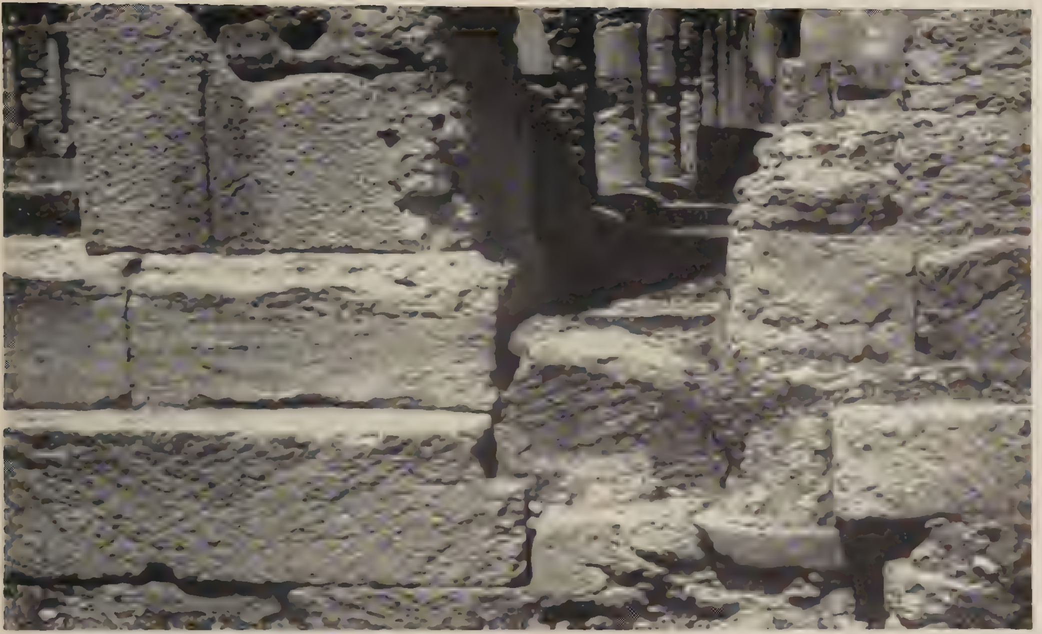
a. North-east Façade, Masonry of Platform



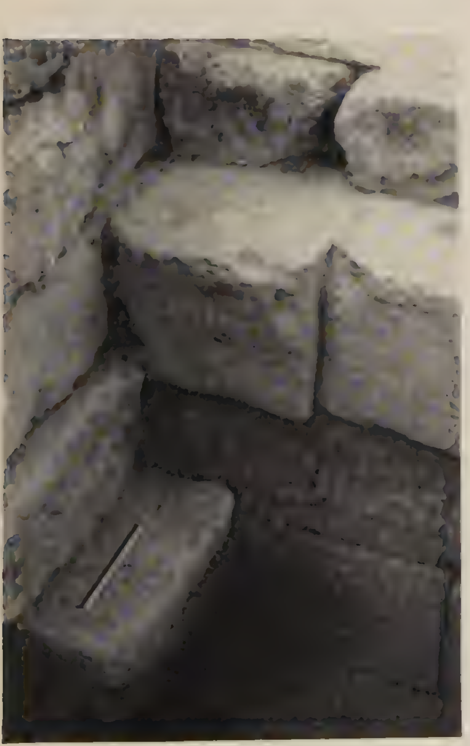
b. South-west Façade, Masonry of Platform

Cyrene, Caesareum

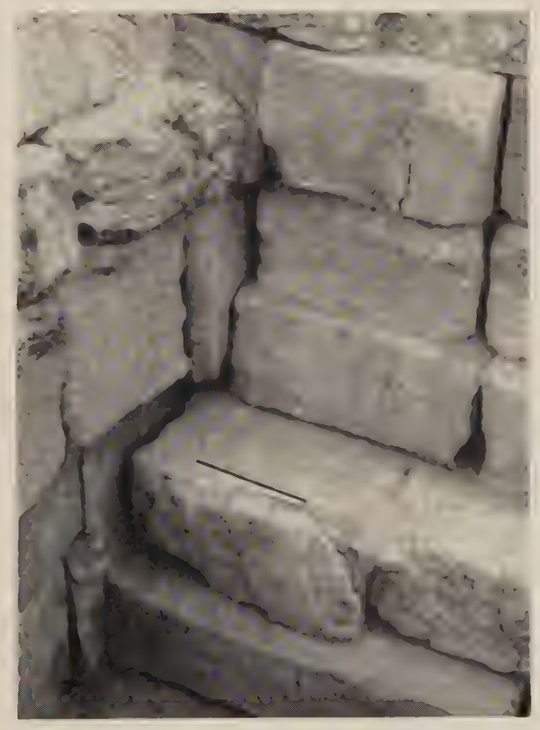
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



a. Trench 1, at the Outer East Angle of the Quadriporticus Stylobate (p. 186)



b. Trench 2, in the Basilica Vestibule (pp. 186-8)

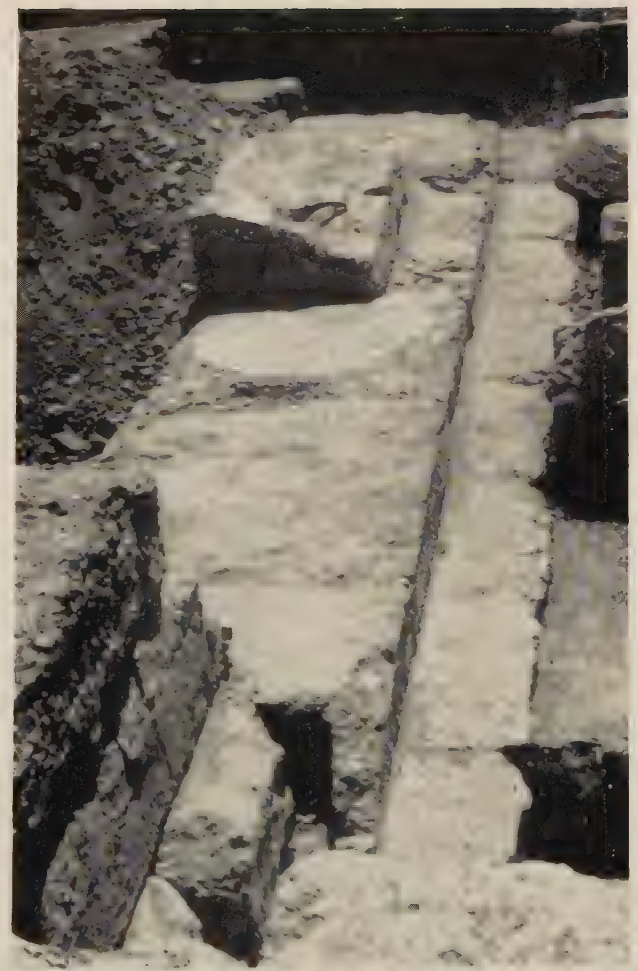


c. Trench 3, in the Basilica Vestibule (p. 188)

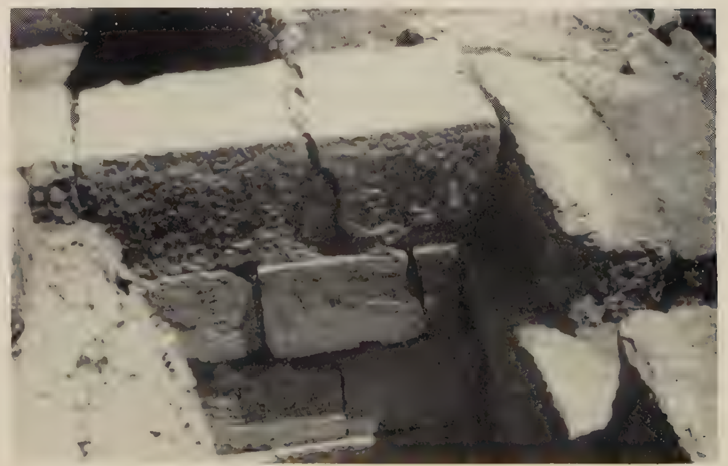
Cyrene, Caesareum: Excavations, 1956

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

PLATE XXXVI


a. Cross-wall I (pp. 187-8)

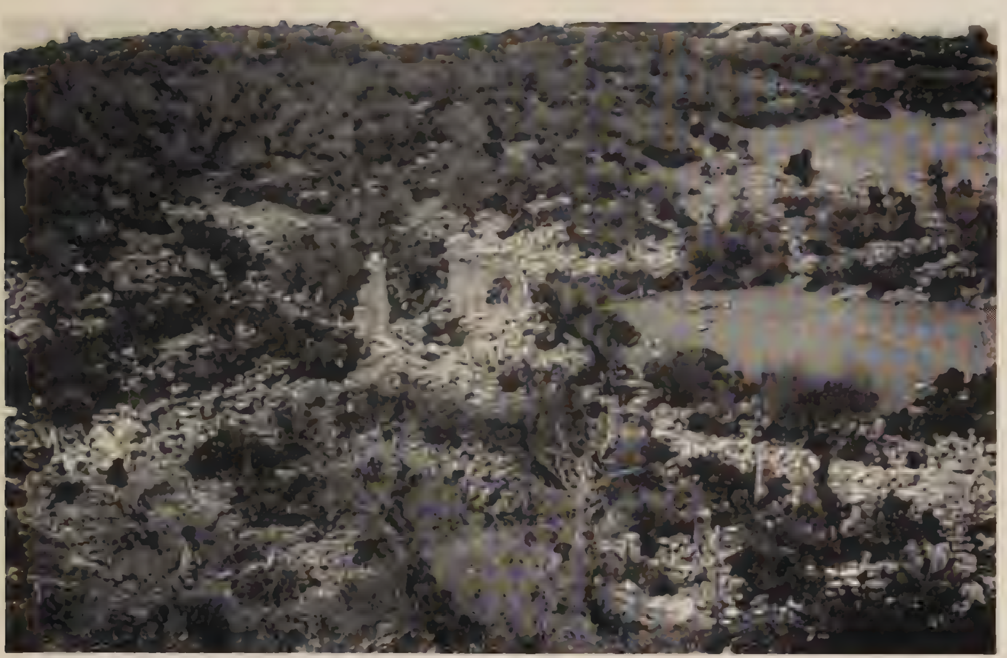
b. Cross-wall I (pp. 187-8)


c. Trench 5, Cross-wall II (p. 189)

Cyrene, Caesareum: Excavations, 1956

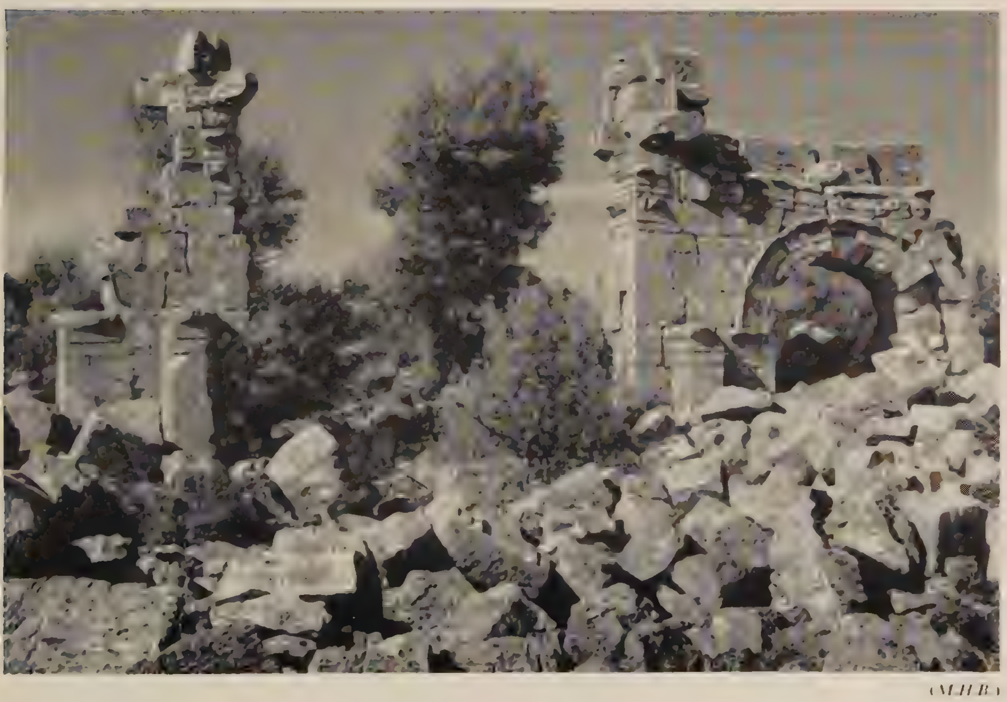
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

PLATE XXXVII



(J.R.W.P.)

a. General View from the Hill to the South-east



(M.H.B.)

b. West end of the Basilica

Cremna, Forum and Basilica (pp. 167-75)

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